Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-012
Thursday
18 January 1990

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Hungary 'Formally' Calls for Troop Withdrawal

LD1801131290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] The Hungarian Government has formally called on the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Hungary, if possible this year, but by the end of next year at the latest.

As Deputy Foreign Minister Ferenc Somogyi said at the press conference he held at the Vienna armed forces reduction talks, Hungary will be ready within days to open discussions among experts in an effort to detail, as soon as possible, a concrete schedule for a complete troop withdrawal.

At the experts' exchanges of views on an agreement could be reached in the shortest term necessary for withdrawal, the Hungarian deputy foreign minister said in Vienna.

First Round of CSSR Troop Pullout Talks Assessed

Full Pullout 'Ultimate Aim'

LD1701221990 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Prague January 18 TASS—The most important result of the first round of the Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on Soviet troop withdrawal from the Czechoslovak territory is the arrangement of the sides that full withdrawal of these troops is the ultimate aim of the talks, L. Dobrovsky, press secretary of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, told a briefing on Wednesday.

The Czechoslovak side insists that the troop withdrawal be completed by the end of 1990, with a substantial part of the personnel, about half of the numerical strength, leaving Czechoslovakia by the beginning of June.

As regards the problem of European security, the Czechoslovak side emphasized more than once that Czechoslovakia will be complying with obligations stemming from its membership in the Warsaw Treaty, Dobrovsky said.

The Czechoslovak People's Army is able to fulfil on its own defence purposes in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty.

CSSR Spokesman Comments

LD1701221190 Prague CTK in English 1259 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 17 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky described today as the most important result of the first round of Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia the agreement of the two sides that the final aim of the negotiations is the complete pull-out of Soviet troops from the country.

The Czechoslovak delegation set the end of 1990 as the definitive deadline for the withdrawal while a substantial part of the troops, more than one half, should be withdrawn before the June elections. The spokesman said the Soviet delegation had not commented on the proposed timetable, stating that it must consult it first.

Dobrovsky characterized the atmosphere of the talks as constructive and voiced the hope that the two sides will find mutually acceptable solutions. He said the Soviet side readily grants necessary information about the troops and confirmed that the withdrawal of Soviet troops will be one of the subjects discussed by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel during his visit to the Soviet Union, scheduled for the beginning of next month.

Czechoslovak experts have stressed that the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from the territory of Czechoslovakia will not harm the course of the Vienna discussions. On the contrary, it will make their course easier and quicker. This standpoint is in harmony with the stand of the USA, Lubos Dobrovsky underlined.

The draft agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops also solves the problems of property rights and other questions connected with it. Questions related with the status of Soviet troops during the time of the withdrawal should be adjusted by special legal forms which could have the form of a letter exchange between the premiers or of a diplomatic note.

As regards European security the Czechoslovak delegation has stressed several times that Czechoslovakia will fulfil its obligations towards the Warsaw Treaty and share in the Vienna discussions, Dobrovsky stressed.

"We consider the withdrawal of Soviet troops the key question in mutual relations bewteen Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union," Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky stressed, adding that the withdrawal would make it possible to purge bilateral relations of the past, improve them significantly and build them on a new basis.

The discussions were open; several misunderstandings occurred but were quite easily overcome. Some Czechoslovak standpoints and its prepraredness seemed surprising for the Soviet delegation, Lubos Dubrovsky said. The Czechoslovak delegation understands the complexity of these problems from the side of the Soviet Union, as well as the complexity of a technical solution. Czechoslovakia is convinced that on the basis of a political solution a solution to technical problems will be easily reached, Dobrovsky underlined.

The Soviet delegation seemed not to understand quite correctly at the beginning the depth of changes which took place in Czechoslovakia. After the exchange of opinions the Soviet delegation seems to understand better all the changes in Czechoslovakia, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said and expressed the belief that this reality will be positively reflected in the second round of the discussions.

The Soviet delegation has not commented on the timetable of the withdrawal proposed by Czechoslovakia. It has only stressed the necessity to consult the possibility of the adoption of this proposal. "I drew a speculative conclusion from this—that the Soviet delegation had a narrower mandate for the talks than we had," Lubos Dubrovsky said.

The Soviet side has been ready to grant the necessary information about the state of troops, Dobrovsky said and confirmed that the visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to the Soviet Union will certainly be very closely connected with the questions of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

Kashlev Sees 'Positive Results'

LD1701221290 Prague CTK in English 1731 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow Jan 17 (CTK Correspondent)—The recent Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia took place in a constructive atmosphere and brought positive results. Soviet Foreign Ministry representative and head of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna meeting of the CSCE member states Yuriy Kashlev told journalists here Wednesday.

Czechoslovakia's demand that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia should take place out of the framework of the Vienna talks is not of prior importance, he said, adding that the talks in Vienna deal with such extensive cuts in troops number in Europe that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia can be realized out of the Vienna talks' framework.

Vienna Seminar on Military Doctrines Under Way

Delegation Member Previews Exchanges

PM1701145390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Dispatch by special correspondent Captain First Rank V. Kuzar: "Raising Visors. Seminar on Military Doctrines Begins in Vienna"]

[Text] Vienna, 15 Jan—As is well known, in the Middle Ages knights armed from head to toe used to raise their visors on meeting to prove their peaceful intentions. Today, although Europe is still over-armed, we must also raise our visors, and this will be the first step to removing the armor. It is no coincidence that I recall these words uttered by O.A. Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks, in an interview.

The seminar on military doctrines will begin its work at Vienna's Hofburg Palace 16 January. Representatives from 33 European countries, along with the United States and Canada, will take part in the seminar. In my view it is designed to raise, as it were, the countries' visors to demonstrate their true intentions. After all, as I have said, the seminar aims to inform the participants of the essence of each country's military doctrine and thus remove the mutual suspicions and mistrust and ensure a better understanding of one another on the basis of a free and frank exchange of opinions. Military doctrines will be compared in the course of the seminar and their evolution analyzed, along with the practice of military building and armed forces' activity.

As for the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact members, their common military doctrine, which is of a clearly defensive character, has already been made public almost 3 years ago. In this time many articles have appeared in the mass media, providing a highly detailed description of all aspects of Soviet military doctrine—its substance and thrust, and the methods and means of implementing it. Our allies' national military doctrines also have received full coverage.

The same cannot be said of NATO countries' military doctrines. They are not well known to the broad public since they have not as yet been set out in their concentrated form. It has mainly been a question of individual strategic concepts and directives that are components of the doctrines. We know little of neutral and nonaligned countries' military doctrines. In effect they and the NATO countries will be presenting their doctrines for the first time in Vienna. This will happen on the initiative of the Warsaw Pact states.

At present the seminar's participants are assembling in the Austrian capital. Under an accord secured at the talks on confidence-building and security measures in Europe the delegations must be led by the chiefs of the general staffs of the CSCE countries' armed forces. This is particularly to ensure that the discussion takes place at high military-political level. Experts among diplomats and scientists will also take part in the seminar's work.

The Soviet delegation is led by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. At the Imperial Hotel, where the Soviet delegation was staying, I met delegation member Major General A.F. Inyakov, deputy chief of a General Staff Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces, and asked him to talk about what will happen at the seminar.

"The period of the seminar—16 January through 5 February—is divided up into four stages. The actual military doctrines will be presented in the course of the first stage. Questions relating to the construction and structure of armed forces will be discussed at the second, while questions of military activity and military training will be discussed at the third, and military appropriations and planning will be discussed at the fourth. These are, so to speak, the general areas of our work. Naturally, a very broad spectrum of problems typical of military construction as a definite sphere of human endeavor will be broached in the course of the seminar.

[Kuzar] "Artur Fedorovich, could you clarify the standing orders for the discussion of military doctrines?"

[Inyakov] "A country's representative is allocated 25 minutes to set out the essence of the military doctrine. Then he will answer questions from the seminar's participants for 10 minutes. At the end of every morning and evening sitting 1 hour has been allocated for an exchange of opinions on the doctrines that have been heard. The seminar's other topics will be discussed in a similar manner."

Thus, our attention is on Vienna. Representatives of 35 countries will lift their visors here and reveal their states' military doctrines—a more than unusual event. There is no doubt that it will have a positive effect on both the course of the Vienna talks and the entire all-European process.

Moiseyev Prepares for Seminar

AU1701151590

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 16 January on pages 1 and 4 carries a 2,000-word interview with Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. The interview was conducted "specially for NARODNA ARMIYA" by NOVOSTI observer Vladimir Nazarenko "on the eve of his departure for the seminar on military doctrines in Vienna." The interview is entitled "Not a Declaration, But a Guide for Action." No date or place for the interview is given.

Asked to view the Vienna seminar in the context of the conventional forces in Europe arms talks, Moiseyev considers that the aim of the seminar, held within the framework of the CSCE process, is "to remove the suspicion and distrust accumulated over the years" and to enable military men from and West to better understand one another. Moiseyev also hopes that "the seminar will be conducted in a businesslike atmosphere, in a spirit of a frank exchange of views" on a wide range of issues of military policy.

Moiseyev then sets out the general criteria that he believes should be used "to compare military doctrines in order to define their defensive orientation in identical terms." He details the cuts in armed forces strengths and weapons already made by the Warsaw Pact members, adding that "we are prepared to withdraw all nuclear munitions from the territories of our allies, provided that the United States also takes a similar step."

Moiseyev goes on to outline the transformations in the structure of the Soviet Armed Forces "in a defensive spirit," including "reducing the number of military districts, armies, and combined-arms divisions, changing the ratio of offensive and defensive weapons to the benefit of the latter, and eliminating mobile operational groups, the so-called concentrated tank attack forces." He also details the cuts in the Soviet military budget already made or planned. However, he warns that "the Warsaw Pact countries cannot unilaterally completely reorganize their Armed Forces on a purely defensive footing and radically change their structure without damaging their own security. In our military organizational development and military policies we are obliged to take account of the basic doctrinal premises of the United States and NATO, the levels of training, organizational development, and the structure of the other side, and the extent to which they are equipped with the latest weapons and hardware." He concludes by commenting that, although the seminar is not the same as negotiations, it "can create a favorable background for the entire negotiation process in the field of disarmament."

Agenda Called 'Unprecedented'

LD1701200990 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna January 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

The seminar on military doctrines under way in the Austrian capital is assessed by the local press as an unprecedented meeting.

The forum is attended by military leaders of countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It was convened on the initiative of the Warsaw Treaty countries and in accordance with an arrangement reached in the framework of the Vienna talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

For the first time in the history of the disarmament process, countries of CSCE are discussing military policy and technological aspects of doctrines and concepts, including matters of cooperation and of the use of conventional forces and nuclear weapons and naval forces. They are also discussing military activity and military training and appropriations under military budgets.

Much interest was shown in the speech by head of the Soviet delegation General Mikhail Moiseyev, USSR first deputy defence minister and chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces.

He set out the basic military policy and technological aspects of the Soviet military doctrine setting out its defense tendency.

Statements by the Soviet military commander showed that the USSR has given up outdated stereotypes of the past, it was said in a programme on Austrian television.

American General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, positively appraised unilateral troop reductions made by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries.

He said the East and the West have already arrived at the conclusion that the era of confrontation should be ended.

Powell presented the NATO doctrines of forward-based defenses and flexible response emphasising special importance of the naval forces for U.S. security.

He noted the need for effective deterrence provided for NATO by a broad spectrum of military possibilities ranging from conventional to nuclear armaments.

General Inspector of the Bundeswehr Admiral Dieter Wellershoff declared that all countries participating in CSCE should be striving to prevent war in Europe.

The West German representative urged European countries to replace military and ideological confrontation with cooperation, confidence and peaceful emulation.

Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish Armed Forces General Bengt Gustafsson positively appraised the progress reached at the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe. He emphasised Sweden's resolve to promote their success.

Gustafsson expressed confidence that the signing of an agreement on substantial cuts in troops and armaments is not far off. It will lead to balancing the forces at a much lower level.

Chervov Gives Impressions

LD1701230990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] A seminar on military doctrines is being held in Vienna. Our correspndent Viktor Mikheyev reports:

[Mikheyev] The very fact that the meeting in the hospitable land of Austria of the heads of general staffs, diplomats, and scholars of 35 states indicates that not only political relations but also military relations between the countries of Europe, the United States, and Canada are entering into a qualitatively new stage. Statements setting out their military doctrines were made at the seminar by Army General Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, General Powell from the United States, Colonel-General Dobrev from Bulgaria, Admiral Wellershoff from the FRG, and others. How is the seminar going? What are the first impressions? Colonel General Chervov, member of the Soviet delegation, says:

[Begin Chervov recording] The first impression is that the seminar is proceeding in a spirit of goodwill. There is an absence of confrontation. There is a desire and a striving by the general staff chiefs to understand one another, to get the bottom of issues of military construction and military doctrines, and to try to outline measures to remove all misunderstanding as well as those obstacles which have accumulated over many years. I would like to note the constructive report by the Soviet representative, Army General Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. The report was met with great interest and great attention. We have distributed it in English and Russian to all the participants, and, judging from today's foreign press, it has met with positive attention. [end recording]

2d Day of Seminar Reported

AU1801095890 Vienna KURIER in German 18 Jan 90 p 3

[Otto Klambauer report: "Red Army Not To Be Used Against Civilian Population"]

[Text] The developments for a "new Europe" also dominated the second day of the conference of 31 army chiefs at Vienna's Hofburg Palace: Everyone spoke about a "historic" military summit—above all, the two superpowers. Before leaving Vienna, U.S. Chief of Staff General Colin Powell praised this "very constructive seminar" once again. The Soviets around General Chief of Staff Moiseyev said: "Never before in the history of mankind have so many top-ranking military officials from so many states met at one table."

U.S. Chief of Staff General Powell paid tribute to Moscow's credibility in its disarmament course. Powell told KURIER that he did not find any opposition to it in the Red Army, "at least not among the generals with whom I have just talked."

The Soviet Army leadership again made noteworthy statements in Vienna. Soviet General Chief of Staff Moiseyev announced that the Warsaw Pact would be transformed into a political alliance, and he presented Moscow's new defense doctrine.

In an exclusive interview with KURIER, Nikolay Chervov, chief of the Soviet General Staff Directorate, stressed the role of the Red Army in the nationalities crises in the USSR: "I am opposed to using the (Red) Army against the civilian population. The Defense Ministry sticks to this position." This statement by a Soviet general is interesting because it comes amid apprehensions of the West that Gorbachev's reform course could be choked by a sort of "heavenly peace," meaning it could be crushed by the Army, as was the case in Beijing in 1989.

Allegations of Soviet Military Stockpiles Hit

PM1701120990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] *THE NEW YORK TIMES* reported recently that the Soviet Union is leaving "huge stocks of armaments and fuel" behind in Eastern Europe even though it is withdrawing some of its troops from that region. V.P. Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, commented on this report at a 12 January press briefing.

It is noteworthy, he stated, that this came to light on the eve of the seminar on military doctrines, which is to be held in Vienna within the framework of talks on confidence-building and security measures in Europe.

If this is the case, it cannot fail to alarm us, the Soviet diplomat noted. Because the main point of the upcoming meeting, organized on the Warsaw Pact countries' initiative, is to help to remove mutual suspicion and improve mutual understanding.

The Soviet spokesman also drew attention to a reference to an intelligence report which says that stocks of Soviet weapons on the Western border remain at the 1989 level. Dwelling on the essence of the question raised by *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, he stated that armaments in Europe are the subject of current talks. The agenda of those talks includes a discussion of the limits and locations of arms stockpiles, the exchange of information, reciprocal verification, and many other aspects of this major and large-scale problem.

Official Announces Troop Reductions in Asia

HK1701085790 Hong Kong AFP in English 0848 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Manila, Jan 17 (AFP)—Soviet military forces in the Asia-Pacific region are being reduced, a Soviet Embassy official said here Wednesday amid reports that Moscow was pulling out most of its offensive forces from Vietnam.

"The U.S.S.R. has made a number of reductions in its military forces in Europe, Asia and the Pacific, including the activity of the Soviet Pacific fleet," said Alexander Losyukov, the deputy chief of mission of the Soviet Embassy here.

"I hope that the military situation in Asia would be more secure for all after we reduce our military activities in the region. We hope that other powers follow our example," he told reporters, apparently referring to the U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

Mr. Losyukov did not identify Soviet military units involved in the reduction.

The *INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE* reported in its Tuesday edition that Moscow was withdrawing most of its offensive forces from Vietnam in the hope that the United States would also withdraw its forces from the Philippines.

The report, quoting an unnamed senior Soviet official and Western officials, said a squadron of MiG-23 jets recently left Cam Ranh Bay and another squadron of Tu-16 bombers have also been withdrawn. There were no longer any submarines or large warships at the base, it added.

Asked to comment on the report, Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus said: "We are closely monitoring the movements of both superpowers in Europe and Asia. We have to study this thoroughly so we do not assume the conclusions that are popularly being made about the reported Soviet withdrawal."

The Philippines hosts Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base, the two largest U.S. overseas military installations. Manila and Washington are scheduled to begin talks on their post-1991 future in March or April.

Mr. Manglapus told reporters Manila was studying the reported Soviet move and "the impact it will have on the negotiations."

But he added: "I don't think it will strengthen or weaken (the U.S. bargaining position)."

Challenges U.S. To Cut Asian Forces

HK1801041590 Manila PHILIPPINES NEWSDAY in English 18 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Report by Maria Luz Baguioro]

[Text] The Soviet Government yesterday challenged the United States to scale down its air and naval forces in the Philippines as a direct response to the Soviet withdrawal of most of its offensive forces from Vietnam.

Minister-Counsellor Alexandre Losyukov, deputy chief of mission of the Soviet Embassy in Manila, said in a phone interview that "we hope other powers will follow our example," referring to the United States which maintains seven military installations in the Philippines alone.

"I hope that the military situation in Asia will be more secure for all after we reduce our military activities in the region," Losyukov said. But he stressed that he embassy was still awaiting Moscow's official confirmation of the reported reductions.

The Soviet Embassy official denied the move is aimed to upset the regional "balance of power" and pressure the United States to make symmetrical reductions in its military presence in Asia and the Western Pacific.

In a related development, the Philippine embassy in Washington has advised the Department of Foreign Affairs that U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney will visit Manila in February as part of a five-leg Asian tour.

Cheney will leave Washington for South Korea on February 14. From there, he will proceed to Hong Kong and Singapore, the Philippines and Japan.

In Manila, he will call on President Aquino, Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus and Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos. A meeting with a select group of Philippine legislators is tentatively scheduled.

The embassy said the bilateral discussions will focus on U.S. military facilities in the country.

Cheney's visit will also provide the Philippines with another opportunity to reiterate the proposed condonation of high-interest bearing foreign military sales credit and the U.S. government's non-compliance with most of the provisions of the bases agreement.

Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus, for his part, said the Philippine government has "to study this carefully so we

do not assume any of the conclusions that are popularly being made about the reported Soviet withdrawal."

Through such a close study, Manglapus added, the government will know the impact of this development on the forthcoming exploratory talks on the bases scheduled for March or April.

"We are watching these developments with great interest. We recognize the changing conditions in Europe. We are closely monitoring the movements of both superpowers in Europe and in Asia," he said.

The *INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE* reported Tuesday that Moscow has cut its forces in Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, the largest naval base occupied by Soviet forces overseas. Analysts said this would thaw Soviet relations with China and the non-communist countries in the region. It will also encourage Vietnam and the Hanoi-backed Hun Sen regime to settle the Cambodian conflict.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has offered twice to withdraw Soviet troops from Vietnam if the U.S. also pulled out of the Philippines. American officials have dismissed the offer as "lopsided," for Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base are far larger than Cam Ranh Bay and play a more important role in the overall U.S. defense network than their Soviet counterpart.

"In the view of the U.S. there was no symmetry between the (forces of) the two powers because the U.S. is a sea power while the Soviet Union is a land power," Manglapus noted.

Soviet Ambassador to the Philippines Oleg Sokolov asserted recently that Americans have "a clear military preponderance here." The Soviet government, he said, supports any move to end the arms race and to dismantle all military bases from foreign soil.

Sokolov pointed out that the Soviet Pacific fleet had been reduced by 57 ships between 1984 and 1989. By the end of 1990, some 120,000 troops would have been unilaterally pulled out of the Soviet Far East, he added.

"Is it not a cherished dream of both the military and civilians to have a leaner army? And why can't others follow the same path of 'modernization' through substantial reductions?" he asked.

Losyukov echoed this, saying that under the USSR's new military doctrine of "reasonable defense sufficiency," resources once earmarked for defense requirements are now used for civilian needs.

"Our unilateral reductions are not connected with the presence of any military power in the region," he said.

The lease on the seven U.S. military facilities in the country are due to expire in September 1991. Manila and Washington both agreed to hold initial talks on the continued American use of these facilities.

The U.S. government, however, has reneged on most of the commitments it made during the 1988 review of the RP [Republic of the Philippines]-U.S. Military Bases Agreement. Manglapus last week said this fact sours prospects that the treaty would be renegotiated.

Paper Notes U.S. Plan To Scrap Minuteman-2

PM1701112190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

["Own Information TASS" report under the "Foreign Military New Item" rubric: "Preliminary Approval"]

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney has approved on a preliminary basis a U.S. Air Force proposal to withdraw 450 "Minuteman-2" intercontinental ballistic missiles from service, THE WASHINGTON POST reports.

Citing Pentagon documents, the newspaper writes that "this step will lead to the destruction of approximately 3.6 percent of the U.S. strategic warhead arsenal and save $400 million per year."

The "Minuteman-2" missiles, whose deployment began 25 years ago, carry one warhead each with a yield of 1.2 megatons. They are the last nuclear devices in the U.S. arsenal with a yield exceeding a 1 megaton. The "Minuteman-2" is appreciably less accurate than more modern U.S. ground-launched strategic missiles—the "Minuteman-3" and the "MX." For these reasons, the "Minuteman-2" has been the "prime candidate" for elimination over the last few years.

Batsanov Interviewed on Chemical Weapon Talks

LD1601120190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Interview with Sergey Borisovich Batsanov, head of USSR delegation to Geneva disarmament conference, by All-Union Radio commentator Vladimir Pasko in Geneva; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] The special committee on chemical weapons of the Geneva disarmament conference began work again today in Geneva. [passage omitted]

[Pasko] Sergey Borisovich, the United States has now proposed cutting chemical weapons by 80 percent, but surely it is a matter of banning and destroying all chemical weapons?

[Batsanov] Naturally this would be an interim step and as we understand it, and the U.S. side shares this view. In theory we believe that interim measures on the way to a convention can be useful and, as is well known, our leadership has welcomed the Bush initiative. We do believe, however, that we should go further here. Thus the Soviet Union is proposing that bilateral agreements of this kind with the United States should include three basic elements:

1. A radical reduction in chemical weapon stocks on a bilateral basis.

2. Obligations not to produce chemical weapons. The Soviet Union, as is well known, has stopped producing these weapons. For the moment, the United States is continuing to implement its binary program. Moreover, if one compares Pr:sident Bush's proposal on 80 percent cuts with the well-known plans for binary re-armament, it immediately emerges that the remaining 20 percent will be filled in by new types of chemical weapons—in other words, binary weapons.

3. A refusal by the USSR and the United States to use chemical weapons, and what's more, an absolute refusal, should be formulated within such an agreement. It is known that both sides are also bound by the 1925 Geneva Protocol but, like many other parties to that protocol, both the USSR and the United States reserved the right to counteruse chemical weapons in the event that such weapons were used against them or against their allies. I think the time has come to abandon these conditions and the Soviet Union, in any case, would be ready to do so, on a reciprocal basis.

[Pasko] Good luck at the talks.

Chervov Foresees 'Basic Changes' in Warsaw Pact

AU1701145790 Paris AFP in English 1441 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Vienna, Jan 17 (AFP)—Recent upheavals in Eastern Europe will bring about basic changes in the Warsaw Pact military alliance and could hasten the demise of its top political body, a senior Soviet military official said here Wednesday.

Reforms could also be expected in the pact's military command system, General Nikolay Chervov, a disarmament aide to the Soviet chief of staff, said at a press conference.

Gen. Chervov spoke on the sidelines of an unprecedented seminar of more than 20 senior military leaders from Eastern and Western Europe and from North America in the context of confidence-building negotiations by 35 countries involved in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The CSCE groups together all of Europe except Albania plus the United States and Canada.

Delegates from several Eastern European countries attending the Vienna meeting have expressed their government's desire to change the pact's makeup.

But military officials told Soviet military chief General Mikhail Moiseyev that their countries will "fulfil their obligations," Gen. Chervov said, adding that structural changes will certainly be made, notably to account for the introduction of multi-party systems in some countries.

A likely pact body to be dismantled was the Consultative Political Committee grouping the pact's Communist Party leaders, as some member countries were no longer run by Communists, according to Gen. Chervov.

He said the committee could ultimately be replaced by a panel grouping the heads of state.

Gen. Chervov cautioned that changes must not be abrupt so as not to threaten stability and security but he pledged that Moscow will not interfere in the domestic affairs of other Warsaw Pact members who were free to choose their own way. [passage omitted]

Lukanov Interviewed on Reforms Within CEMA

PM1701110290 Paris LIBERATION in French 10 Jan 90 pp 12-13

[Interview with CEMA Executive Committee Chairman Andrey Lukanov by Marie-Laure Colson; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] LIBERATION: CEMA has reached a turning point. How can cooperation among the member countries be safeguarded?

Andrey Lukanov: We must obviously reform CEMA's very structure, disbanding the institutions which direct our trade, replacing them with economic agents and especially with enterprises. But it is absolutely vital to have a transitional period which guarantees relative social and political stability. This is currently our main problem because things are moving very quickly.

LIBERATION: What practical measures must be taken?

Andrey Lukanov: In addition to the derestriction of commercial relations, we must reform the monetary sector above all. It is impossible to have a market without a currency. The convertibility of a national currency and of the regional currency (the one which is used for trade between the countries—LIBERATION editor's note) is therefore a priority issue for us. Moreover, I see a possibility of cooperation with the West in this sphere.

LIBERATION: What do you expect from the Western countries?

Andrey Lukanov: The idea of creating a rebuilding and development bank for Eastern Europe strikes me as extremely interesting. Our countries have debts and above all they lack experience in the monetary sphere. Financial and technical cooperation with the West therefore strikes me as vital, although I cannot yet define what form it will take. But, at all events, it is an action which goes in the direction of integrating the East European countries in the world economy. In this respect it is better for us to breathe new life into CEMA than to dissolve it.

LIBERATION: Does the reform of CEMA imply the end of the transferable ruble and of 5-year plans?

Andrey Lukanov: It is difficult to say at present. I think we must leave countries free to use their own combination of a convertible currency and the transferable ruble and see from experience how that works. With regard to 5-year plans, there is currently no question of eliminating them, but of making them the tools of economic regulation rather than directives.

LIBERATION: When will the East European countries have a single market?

Andrey Lukanov: Our economies are now seriously imbalanced. The move from regulated relations to a single market requires us first to consolidate our national economies. The single market will therefore not be achieved immediately; its creation will probably take between 10 and 15 years.

Global Environmental Forum Continues in Moscow

Shevardnadze Receives U.S. Senators

LD1701214190 Moscow TASS in English 2126 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today received a group of U.S. Senators participating in the global forum on environment and development for survival, under way in Moscow.

The group included Claiborne Pell, Albert Gore and Timothy Wirth, as well as Lloyd Bentsen, invited to the Soviet Union by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

They had a frank discussion on a number of major international problems and the further development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Shevardnadze said "solid groundwork was laid in the past few years for further progress in Soviet-American relations.

"We have shown to the whole world that we can successfully solve major problems, including the sensitive sphere of disarmament.

"This year may be unique in this respect: Good prospects are opening for the solution of the problems of strategic offensive armaments, conventional armed forces, chemical weapons and nuclear tests.

"Some issues from this sphere have to be resolved at political level. We are orienting our efforts on these issues to the June 1990 Soviet-U.S. summit.

"The visit by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to Moscow in early February will have great importance for the preparation of the summit," Shevardnadze said.

The Soviet minister said the Soviet Union took "serious steps" during the previous talks in Wyoming.

"We will continue taking steps in the future, too, but much will depend on what Baker brings to Moscow," he said.

Both sides expressed interest in progress and development on Soviet-U.S. trade and economic relations which they described as lagging behind the general dynamics of the two countries' interaction in various spheres.

"We know that some Western countries, including the United States, have adopted a wait-and-see attitude to perestroyka," Shevardnadze said.

"Indeed, our country is now living through a difficult period. It has turned out that a peaceful revolution, a turnabout in people's minds is the most difficult revolution.

"But we are sure that perestroyka will be carried out," he emphasised.

During the discussion of the situation in Europe, both sides pointed out that some statements on a reunification of the two German states evoke legitimate concern with regard to the degree to which the interests of European peoples, the imperatives of the borders' inviolability and lessons of history are being taken into account.

The sides discussed the situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Shevardnadze pointed to the Soviet Union's large-scale measures to reduce its armed forces west and east of the Urals.

"The day when there will be no Soviet military presence in Asia beyond Soviet borders is near," he said.

In this connection, he called on the United States to "correct its policy in that region."

Shevardnadze expresed conviction that the dialogue between the Soviet Union, the United States and other countries of the Asia-Pacific Region, "is the road, following which general and specific apprehensions, if such exist, should be removed."

The participants in the meeting emphasised the great importance of environmental problems discussed at the Moscow forum and noted their close connection with progress in disarmament efforts, as reductions in military spending is the main source of huge funds required for saving the planet's environment.

Ryzhkov Receives Canadian Businessman

LD1701214690 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov received on Wednesday Albert Reichmann, a prominent North American businessman, co-chairman of the Canadian-Soviet Business circles. He came here to attend the global forum on environment and development for survival.

They discussed Soviet-Canadian trade and economic relations that were given a positive impetus recently as a result of the official visit to the USSR or Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Soviet-Canadian talks.

Reichmann's business interests are connected with the building industry, and for this reason their exchange of views focused on possible cooperation in the construction in the USSR of social and cultural facilities, primarily apartment houses. Ryzhkov and Reichmann discussed in a preliminary way participation of Canadian firms in finishing industrial projects in the Soviet Union which had been moth-balled for various reasons.

Assessing prospects of cooperation with Soviet enterprises and organisations, Reichmann said that a skilful choice of cooperation projects could induce many North American companies to take part in mutually advantageous cooperation.

UN's Perez de Cuellar Departs

LD1701193590 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar left Moscow for New York today after taking part in the global forum on the environment and development.

At the airport he was seen off by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and other officials.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on 1990 Prospects

AU1601212090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13-14 Jan 90 pp 1, 5

[Report on statements by Soviet Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze by NOVOSTI reporter Vladimir Markov: "Forecasts"; date and place not given]

[Text]

Disarmament

In a sense 1990 will mark a turning point. I am sure that we will complete work on a treaty reducing conventional weapons—the first of its kind. This will make it realistic to call a Helsinki-2 summit-level European conference. Not only could the treaty be signed at the conference, but the conference also could provide a forum for talks on the subject of further cuts in weapons and forces, the establishment of confidence-building measures, and the elimination of military confrontation.

I think that this year it would also be possible to completely finish work on a treaty providing for a 50-percent reduction in U.S. and Soviet strategic weapons, which will initiate a new period in the disarmament field. This year will also be of decisive importance for the drawing up of an international convention that will impose a complete and universal ban on the use of chemical weapons.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

There will be a significant shift in Soviet-U.S. relations. Good prospects will be created for the expansion of economic cooperation. It will be cooperation on a large scale based on equal rights and it will benefit both sides. We need that kind of cooperation, and the United States needs it just as much. America needs a stable and certain Soviet market.

Europe

It will be a very important year for Europe and for the construction of its common home. When Mikhail Gorbachev put forward the idea, there were very many people who thought that it was an illusion. Individual elements, whole sections have already been built. The building is beginning to assume an increasingly clearer shape.

France's President Mitterrand is proposing that we proceed further. During talks that I had in Brussels at the end of 1989, Belgium's Premier Wilfried Martens also talked about the idea of establishing a "European Confederation." It even surprised me that Belgium should put forward this kind of idea, because as a rule small states exercise particular caution in their attitude toward various kinds of unions, confederations. However, we have now become convinced in the Soviet Union that without integration processes and without the establishment of a common European zone (an economic zone, but not only an economic one), both small and medium-sized Western European states will not be able to solve current global problems.

Western Europe

We are currently at the stage of forming what I would describe as new relations with these states. It is very important that we preserve mutual alliance commitments. As for political systems, socioeconomic systems, economic reforms and so on, these problems are being solved by every one of the peoples of the countries of Eastern Europe.

The Soviet restructuring process has to a large extent facilitated the introduction of positive changes in the states of Eastern Europe, but simultaneously the revolutionary changes that are taking place in these states provide support for the progressive processes that are under way in the Soviet Union.

Soviet-Chinese Relations

Relations will develop very vigorously this year. Both the USSR and China are interested in seeing this happen. The normalization of relations between us is today's most important achievement. Of course, we should already be working for the future. I think that we will make definite progress in developing our relations this year. Premier Li Peng will be received in the USSR. Both sides will also pay a number of other visits. Prospects in the economic field look excellent. It is also very important that Soviet-Chinese talks are now starting up on the subject of cuts in forces and weapons in border regions as well as on the subject of confidence-building measures.

Asia and the Pacific Region

Prospects are good for the continuation of political dialogue and the expansion of economic and scientific and technical cooperation with Japan. In view of the increasing role of the ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] states and that of the region's other states in world processes, we will strive to expand dynamic bilateral and multilateral relations with those states. Naturally, we also will actively develop relations with the DPRK.

South Korea and Israel

Diplomatic relations have not been established yet. In a way similar to that in which we are developing trade ties

with South Korea, we will also develop extragovernmental relations with Israel at the chamber of commerce level. Large, interesting joint projects are possible. We will also develop consular relations.

Arab States

The states of the Arab world are our traditional partners with whom we will continue to develop relations. The normalization of our relations with Egypt and their further development is of great international significance. President Husni Mubarak will visit the USSR in the first quarter of this year.

We will continue our efforts to regulate the Middle East conflict and to call an international conference on the Middle East.

The International Aspect of Nationality Problems in the USSR

I can assess separatist trends in our country from the angle of someone who is connected with foreign policy. Enormous changes for the better are taking place over the world. I already have talked about some of our foreign policy priorities and about trends that provide grounds for hope. They have arisen in connection with Soviet restructuring, thanks to which the USSR is a strong state. This is primarily reflected in the fact that we are a union of various peoples. If we were to weaken the union, then our foreign policy would become less effective. It would mean that the basis of all the positive changes that are taking place in the world would be weakened. We are pleased that the "cold war" is over and that a new peaceful period for the development of mankind is emerging. The threat of war has been removed, and we are eliminating the possibility of confrontation. There is no doubt about this. That is why certain separatist trends in the USSR should be viewed from the angle of the interests of all of civilization and mankind. I am convinced that we will manage to find the most sensible compromise solution to our country's nationality problems. The new USSR Constitution, which we are currently working on together with all the republics, will ensure the existence of a true federation.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on East-West Relations

AU1701091990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 10 Jan 90 p 2

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, by Vladimir Markov and Stanislav Polzikov: "Being Partners"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Many things in politics are now taking place for the first time. Recently, you were in Brussels at NATO headquarters and there, as USSR foreign minister, you also signed the first agreement in history between the USSR and the European Community on trade and economic cooperation. What is the significance of this agreement?

[Shevardnadze] It is possible, without exaggeration, to regard reaching such an agreement as a breakthrough that will enable us to inaugurate a new era of rapprochement between our country and the 12 European Community member states and as overcoming the economic schism in Europe. In this general agreement, issues such as how to further establish purposeful cooperation on the basis of mutually bestowing most favored nation status, without unnecessary constraints, have been resolved in principle. Now everything depends on reciprocal activity, including activity on drafting additional agreements. Thanks to the agreement, the USSR can gain a lot.

On the other hand, I do not doubt that Western Europe is very interested in developing trade relations with the Soviet Union. Owing to the process of integration, a massive economic center is being created in Western Europe which, in some indicators, will outstrip the United States and Japan. By concluding an agreement with the Soviet Union, the European Community has made a clever move and has given itself access to a large and reliable market.

[Question] Until recently, NATO was unwilling to agree to contacts with representatives of Warsaw Pact member states.

[Shevardnadze] I must state that the decision to arrange a meeting in the North Atlantic alliance headquarters with the USSR foreign minister was made in NATO collectively. My talks with Manfred Woerner, NATO general secretary, and with the heads of the member countries' permanent representations in this organization's headquarters were wide-ranging and interesting. These and other talks which took place in Brussels reflect the processes of rapprochement and democratization under way on a pan-European scale. These processes lead to an improvement in mutual relations between all European countries and help toward overcoming confrontation in Europe.

[Question] Recently within NATO, a discussion has developed on this organization's new structures and tasks. J. Baker, U.S. secretary of state, is talking about them in particular. How do you evaluate this discussion in light of further contacts between the Warsaw Pact and NATO?

[Shevardnadze] I think that a question put in such a way is absolutely correct. Increasing the role of political aspects in the activity of both alliances is a requirement of the times. For a long time we in the Warsaw Pact organization have been talking about the necessity of the increased politicizing of both alliances and we are rebuilding ourselves from our very foundations. And now we see that the North Atlantic pact has reached a decision also to proceed toward revamping its structures. It is possible to draw this conclusion from my talks at NATO headquarters: There they are seriously thinking about both alliances' future role and their mutual relations.

Our dialogue with NATO will continue. The mechanism for the development of relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO organizations already has been created. This is the same mechanism that functions when conducting negotiations on conventional weapons in Europe. The discussion on military doctrines, which will begin in Vienna in mid-January, will have a particularly great significance from the point of view of further relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. These may become the basis for ensuring that relations between both alliances transform from confrontation to cooperation.

[Question] How would you characterize the current and future era in the development of relations between East and West Europe, particularly in view of the changes under way in the Eastern part of Europe?

[Shevardnadze] We have come to the conclusion that the cold war has ended. A peaceful period in European development is beginning, but this does not mean that everything will go smoothly. In the background of the important processes under way in Eastern Europe, it is today more important than ever that all European countries make an effort and are prepared to do everything to preserve and strengthen stability on the European continent. Now, on the part of all European states, the United States, and Canada we are aware of a kind of positive concern to ensure that stability in Europe is not compromised. Normal development in the European process is by a method that leads to the formation of a truly united Europe.

Foreign Ministry's Kashlev on Vienna Accords

LD1701190390 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The year since the Vienna meeting has seen rapid development of the Helsinki process, Yuriy Kashlev, ambassador at large of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, told a news conference here today. He said that the Vienna arrangements are being implemented effectively.

Kashlev said that many important agreements on cooperation were signed over the past year during the Soviet president's visits to Great Britain, West Germany, France and Italy.

European functions envisaged in Vienna—such as the information forum in London, the first stage of the conference on the human dimension of the European process, held in Paris, and the ecological conference in Sofia—were held in a businesslike way.

Among the most important achievements of the Vienna meeting are the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence-and security-building measures in Europe, now under way in the Austrian capital. There are prospects for concluding initial agreements before the end of this year, Kashlev said.

A consensus is shaping in Europe about signing these agreements at the summit level by the 35 countries that participate in the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Kashlev said.

He emphasised that this would be the second summit in the 15 years of the Helsinki process and noted that it could also discuss conceptual approaches to the consolidation of European security, the overcoming of the post-war split in Europe and the construction of a common European home.

Kashlev noted that developments in East European countries objectively improve conditions for intensifying the European process and for advancing towards a European community.

He said that many obstacles to a consensus in Europe are being cleared n these countries. For instance, Romania withdrew its reservations about the final document of the Vienna meeting.

Briefing the news conference on the implementation of the Vienna accords in the Soviet Union, Kashlev said that the USSR has regarded the Vienna document as obligatory since the day it was adopted. Laws on human rights, on the press and others have been drafted in the Soviet Union over the past year. The drafts are now being discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

PRAVDA Writer Views Potential for 'Helsinki-2'

PM1701153390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

["Observers Notes" by special correspondent Aleksandr Lopukhin of the PRAVDA Capitalist Countries Department: "En Route to 'Helsinki-2'"]

[Text] A "serial" packed with dramatic and unexpected events about changes in Europe has riveted us to our television screens lately. Many people even feel confused, since the processes going on around us seem unpredictable. But I would stress the word "seem." Certainly, our perception and assessments lean toward conservatism: They are changing more slowly than circumstances demand.

Our European home is undergoing "repair." Moreover, this is not only a matter of replacing doorplates and sticking back the wallpaper; the fact is that very major rather than cosmetic repairs are under way. Reconstruction also has been undertaken in the Western apartments, where work is being carried out at an extremely strenuous—albeit not breakneck—pace.

No matter how the plans for a common European structure proposed by various leaders are described, they are all based on the CSCE Final Act and subsequent documents elaborated in the course of the Helsinki process. Today these words can be heard from the lips of many European and American leaders; and this is quite understandable. It is the Helsinki principles in conditions of dangerous—seemingly real—instability and

uncertainty that preserve the guarantee of creating a European order that provides everyone with an equal degree of security in all its fundamental aspects—military-political, economic, and ecological.

One of Helsinki's main achievements was recognition of the inviolability of the borders that took shape as a result of World War II. Under current conditions this principle is regarded in Europe as a true lifesaver. Moreover, it also provides insurance for the unexpected events and changes that await us in the future. If we go back to the repair analogy, the preservation of capital structures like borders may be said to make it possible to continue building our common home in Europe according to the agreed plan even if major repairs are under way in its individual apartments at the same time.

Security—the "first basket"—is a fundamental area in the Helsinki process, and there is no guarantee of survival unless it is strengthened. Today security cannot belong to one state or group of countries alone: There can only be common security, or to be more precise, universal security. So we must resolve security together—that is, completely abandon the old approach whereby East-West relations were seen as a "zero-sum game" in which if one side obtained an advantage, the other was at an equal disadvantage, and vice versa. Present-day nuclear-missile realities implacably urge countries to resolve military-political problems on a multilateral basis, notably via activation of the Helsinki process. This also applies to the approach to other common problems—the development of economic, ecological, and human cooperation. There are now more preconditions for seeing a Europe involved in disarmament and new forms of multilateral, mutually beneficial cooperation this year.

The Helsinki process is attractive because all decisions are adopted within its framework on the principle of consensus, which means that no one can foist an unacceptable decision on anyone else. Nor is it suitable for mutual admonitions, but rather for developing and deepening mutual understanding, trust, and mutual rapprochement.

By its very nature the process founded in Helsinki is helping to overcome the East-West, NATO-Warsaw Pact division that has existed for decades. This embodies the approach whereby the need is passing for one or several countries to hold the lead and assume greater responsibility than the others for the future of the continent and the whole world. Under these conditions every country is indeed equal and can influence the creation of a peaceful all-European order as actively as the others.

Any changes are definitely charged with instability. The faster the pace and the greater the scale of the changes in Europe, the louder the voices in support of Moscow's proposal to advance "Helsinki-2" and hold a CSCE summit meeting this year rather than in 1992 as planned. All the recent tumultuous changes must be analyzed, and we must clarify the architectural blueprint for the common European home, which may—and why not?—assume the final form of the "European confederation" proposed by F. Mitterrand.

The CSCE Final Act and subsequent documents in the Helsinki process can be compared to the constitution by which virtually all European countries, the United States, and Canada live. It is now time for the next step—the creation of permanent executive bodies to strengthen all-European security and develop cooperation in all areas.

Above all the "Helsinki-2" forum itself could become a permanent body that would operate annually rather than meeting once every 15 years.

Many political leaders are now talking quite rightly about the end of the "cold war." The holding of "Helsinki-2" this year could be a highly important, historic event in this connection. I would compare it to the solemn signing of an East-West peace treaty on the end of the "cold war." Apart from this symbolic treaty, specific agreements on conventional arms reductions and confidence-building measures could be signed at the meeting.

"Helsinki-2" could give the green light to the creation of permanent structures and working bodies to develop the all-European process, which would answer the challenge of the time—the challenge of change. It is, in particular, a question of creating a center to lessen the military danger and avert a sudden offensive, an ecological emergency center, a European human rights institute, a European development bank, a cadre training foundation, and others. All this would substantially advance the building of a common European home and render it more secure and worthy of people.

United States & Canada

U.S. Vetoes UN Resolution on Panama Actions

LD1701233190 Moscow TASS in English 2307 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] New York January 18 TASS—The United States on Wednesday vetoed a U.N. Security Council resolution on U.S. actions in Panama.

The Council, convened at the request of Nicaragua, considered the December 29, 1989, raid by U.S. troops on the home of Nicaragua's ambassador in Panama.

The resolution, vetoed by the U.S., called for respect for norms on international law guaranteeing the immunity of diplomats and the inviolability of premises of diplomatic missions.

Soviet-U.S. Trade at 'Scandalously Low' Level

PM1801101790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Nataliya Larionova "Viewpoint": "Acute Insufficiency"]

[Text] Possibly the most accurate definition of the current state of Soviet-U.S. trade would be this: acute insufficiency. This has happened because trade relations between the two major powers have remained frozen for a painfully long time now. During their Malta meeting the two countries' leaders definitively advocated developing these relations as soon as possible.

Clearly, the existing obstacles have to be removed if these intentions are to be translated into practice. The main obstacles are the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which stripped the Soviet Union of its most favored nation status in trade, and the Cocom lists, which prohibit the export of many types of modern hi-tech goods to socialist countries. Allow me to remind you that the Jackson-Vanik amendment was adopted back in 1974 in connection with "the Soviet Union's undemocratic emigration policy." Despite the fact that there have been changes in that policy in recent years which have stripped the amendment of its original meaning, essentially insurmountable tariff barriers and bans on the acquisition of loans on preferential terms still stand in the way of Soviet-U.S. trade.

Today, when Moscow and Washington are managing to find a common language in such a complex area as disarmament, our bilateral trade remains at a scandalously low level. Judge for yourselves: In recent years the United States has accounted for an average of 1% of Soviet foreign trade and our country has accounted for 0.5% of U.S. foreign trade. In other words, our economic interdependence is so slight that, in principle, the two sides could do without trade links altogether. Is this not paradoxical? Perhaps not. It is simply further evidence that artificial barriers and reluctance to hold a dialogue give rise to ugly "abscesses" even in such an international sphere as the world economy.

Times are changing and the term "cold war" is receding into history, but the barriers which it caused to appear are still being preserved. They have become a kind of constant in a rapidly changing world. The Cocom list still contains 100,000 (!) types of goods whose export to socialist countries is prohibited. It is no secret that it depends largely on the U.S. stance. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the volume of Soviet-U.S. bilateral trade now stands at less than $2 billion. Despite the fact that the potential for development does exist.

This discrimination against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is also causing considerable damage to the trade of the United States itself. Slots that could be filled by the Americans in trade with the Soviet Union have been taken by their competitors instead, so the United States is finding itself on the sidelines as a result of its own restrictive measures.

The question of Washington's radically reviewing its approach to trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union has long been a pressing one. And, moreover, reviewing it in such a way as to really recognize trade not as a favor to Moscow but as a means of safeguarding its own interests and as an important element of real national security.

This has even been demonstrated by the results of a survey carried out by FORTUNE magazine in conjunction with the polling firm Clark, Martin and Bartholomeo among the leaders of companies included among the top 500 U.S. corporations. Recognizing that the United States is certainly not using to the fullest the broad opportunities opening up before it as a result of restructuring in the Soviet Union, 73% of these American businessmen said that they intend to begin trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, while 66% said that they intend to considerably expand their business operations on the Soviet market over the next 2 years. It is significant that 67% of the respondents expressed the firm belief that in the next 20 years East Europe is going to become one of the main centers of international trade.

Soviet-U.S. trade has excellent possibilities, but these possibilities can only be utilized when the United States abandons its artificial sanctions and grants the Soviet Union most favored nation status, and when Congress abolishes the Jackson-Vanik amendment and also the unjust E. Stevenson amendment on credit. Especially as the reasons which prompted these amendments no longer exist. All that is wanted now is the first step. For all our desire to develop economic ties with the United States, we are forced to wait for this step from the American side. At the same time, it is perfectly obvious that the normalization and development of Soviet-U.S. economic and trade relations can benefit not only the two great powers but the entire world community.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Abe Hails Moscow Visit Results

LD1701184590 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Tokyo January 17 TASS—Shintaro Abe, prominent leader of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party and former foreign minister, gave a high appraisal of the results of his visit to Moscow and the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Speaking on his return at the club of Japanese journalists, he said that the negotiations with the Soviet leader were marked by "complete mutual understanding." Both sides showed a clear desire to work for mutually acceptable solutions in order to improve relations between the two countries. "We have started movement in the right direction," Abe said, "and I think that common sense will help us clear obstacles standing in our way."

The Soviet Union, Abe continued, is living through a difficult historical period as it encounters serious economic and interethnic problems. "Generally speaking, I think that the Soviet leadership will overcome the difficulties. The Soviet Union's drive for reform, democratisation and glasnost has great significance for the entire world, although its consequences are yet to be felt in the Asia-Pacific region. Tokyo has allied obligations to the United States but is not opposed to Soviet involvement in the affairs of this part of the world.

"I would like to express once again gratitude to the CPSU CC [Central Commitee] general secretary who, despite being busy, found time to receive the Liberal Democratic party," said Abe. "We see this as evidence of the fact that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to developing bilateral relations. For its part Japan also favours 'a balanced expansion' of ties with the Soviet Union."

Abe hailed the Soviet leader's decision to pay a visit to Japan in 1991, calling it a decisive step towards improving bilateral relations.

Mongolian Democratic Union Holds Mass Meeting

LD1401174890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1201 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 14 December [date as received], (TASS)—There was a sanctioned mass meeting organized by the Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU) today on a square in the capital of the MPR. Those taking part in it represented various sections of Mongolian society. They spoke out against command and administrative methods of leadership which were cited as the main reason for the difficulties being experienced by the republic.

Certain speakers at the meeting criticized the current leadership of the country and called for the role of the party in the life of society to be restricted. There were also demands that Y. Tsedenbal should be put on trial. People also asked why there is still a monument to Stalin in Ulaanbaatar.

It has been asserted by the MDU Coordinating Council that the number of members of this public organization has already reached 60,000. The meeting's organizers collected money for MDU funds from those who took part in it.

Ambassador on Mongolian Joint Ventures, Troops

OW1801045590 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Mongolian Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Supply, Ochirbat, and Soviet Ambassador to Mongolia, Sitnikov, were recently interviewed by the Mongolian TV, answering questions from televiewers. Regarding joint enterprises, the Soviet ambassador said his country in the future will work to build small and medium joint enterprises which will give fast economic results. The Mongolian minister has admitted that the process of replacing the foreign experts working in Mongolia with national personnel advances very slowly and with the growth of qualified Mongolian personnel the number of foreign experts, including Soviet, will be reduced.

On the question of total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia, Ambassador Sitnikov indicated that for the USSR there is no serious political complication in this regard. Concerning the Soviet-built uranium mine in (Mardzad), in east Mongolia, in 1988 Minister Ochirbat said that only 5 percent of the total capacity of the mine is being exploited. The rest has been laid up in view of the new trends in world politics.

On Mongol-Soviet trade and prices, the Soviet ambassador said that in keeping with the decision of the recent Council for Mutual Economic Assistance session, the two countries will switch over to world prices and conduct transactions in convertible currency.

USSR-DPRK Cultural Centers To Improve Ties

SK1801010790 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 12 Jan 90

[From the "Asian News" feature of the regular program "Focus on Asia"]

[Text] PRAVDA has reported that the USSR and the DPRK signed an agreement on the opening of the Soviet Cultural Center in the DPRK and of the DPRK Cultural Hall in our country.

As expected, the areas of the two cultural centers' activity will be very broad. They will include a wide assortment of activities, ranging from exhibitions to the arrangement of film shows, running libraries and Soviet and Korean language classes.

The principal goal of the cultural events expected to be held in the future in Moscow and Pyongyang, according to the

words of Comrade O Mun-han, vice chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries of the DPRK, is to strengthen the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentaries Discuss Cambodian Settlement Process

Ovchinnikov Cites UN Role

PM1701154190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "View from Moscow": "Cambodia and the Example of Namibia"]

[Text] I would like to cite the increasingly active role of the United Nations in the political settlement of regional conflicts as a gratifying feature of the recent period. Any local hotbed of tension threatens international peace and security, and it is the duty of the world community to help to eliminate it.

The role of the United Nations in drawing up the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan is well known. They created the conditions for the Soviet troop withdrawal and national reconciliation in that country. If all the participants had fulfilled that agreement as conscientiously as Moscow and Kabul, long-awaited peace would already have come to Afghan soil. It was precisely thanks to the efforts of the United Nations that the flames of the senseless war lasting many years between Iran and Iraq were extinguished. But the peacemaking role of the United Nations probably proved most effective in Namibia. A provisional UN administration was set up in the last colony on the African continent to hold free elections, and it coped successfully with that task.

Is it possible to use the experience of the UN intermediary mission in Southwest Africa in order to end the protracted conflict in Southeast Asia? Is it possible to follow the example of Namibia in order to achieve national reconciliation in Cambodia? These questions are being discussed actively now by all the interested sides.

A qualitatively new situation has taken shape for a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian problem. This is now 4 months that there have been no Vietnamese troops in the country. This has reduced the regional conflict to the scale of internal strife, whose only external component remains foreign military aid. The Vietnamese troop withdrawal was completed in full by the promised time—the end of September. Although at the Paris conference on Cambodia held in August, it was not possible to reach agreement either on the transitional power structures or even on a cease-fire and the cessation of weapons deliveries from outside.

While trying to deny that the Vietnamese really had left, the antigovernment forces evidently had no doubts about this themselves. Armed detachments of Pol Pot men and supporters of Sihanouk and Son Sann were not slow to activate combat operations. They gambled on widening the civil war in the hope of using the changed correlation of forces to their advantage. At first they scored certain tactical successes in the northwest regions of Cambodia bordering on Thailand. Roads made impassable by the rains made a big contribution to this. But with the onset of the dry season government troops regained the initiative. Phnom Penh continues to control most of the country's territory, the most important roads, and the large cities. The Pol Pot men's attacks on Battambang, undertaken on the anniversary of the country's liberation, were designed above all for their psychological effect and cannot change the situation on a strategic plane. These desperate adventures attest that the "trial of military strength" imposed on the people augurs only senseless bloodshed. A military solution to the Cambodian problem is impossible.

Many interested countries are now making efforts to ensure that solutions are sought not on the battlefield but around the negotiating table. A number of proposals have been made, which can pave the way to mutually acceptable accords. I will enumerate some of them. There is the Indonesian proposal to hold another informal meeting in Jakarta, this time under the cochairmanship of Indonesia and France, as a sequel to the Paris negotiating process. There is the Thai proposal to move toward a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian problem stage by stage. And, above all, to concentrate on three questions: how to create an international control mechanism, how to implement a cease-fire, and how to put an end to military aid from outside. The Soviet proposal to impose a moratorium on weapons deliveries to all the opposing sides tallies with this. It would not be very difficult to monitor its observance under conditions in Cambodia, where there are not that many ports and airfields.

I would like to dwell especially on the Australian proposal to apply the "Namibian formula" in Cambodia. In my view, this is an attractive idea because it makes it possible to bypass the chief obstacle revealed at the Paris conference: the question of the transitional power structures. It was precisely the arguments over who should prepare for and hold the elections that took the opposing sides into a hopeless impasse. And in order to overcome it it is best to let the Cambodians themselves, the people as a whole, speak, that is, to ensure the free expression of their will under international control.

It is a question of entrusting to a UN administration questions connected with the election campaign, while the existing organs of power would continue to tackle other everyday matters. I will remind you that this was precisely the case in Namibia, where the former administration of the Republic of South Africa continued to function right up until the voting results were announced.

Once again demonstrating Phnom Penh's goodwill, Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has expressed readiness to examine the question of provisional power organs in Cambodia with due regard for the Australian proposal. However, he added, if the world community wants to take on an intermediary role in a Cambodian settlement, the United Nations must come out from a really impartial position and proclaim Cambodia's seat in this organization vacant. (The Australian proposal provides for such a step, but Sihanouk's representatives do not want to release the seat usurped by them). Hun Sen advocated convening a new informal meeting in Jakarta without delay within the framework of the Paris process and discussing there questions of an international mechanism to monitor the cease-fire and the cessation of foreign military aid. The Soviet Union views Phnom Penh's positive attitude toward the proposals of Jakarta, Bangkok, and Canberra as new manifestations of its flexible, constructive approach to aspects of a settlement which have not yet been agreed.

Recent days have brought signs of the activation of the negotiating process, which came to a standstill after the Paris conference on Cambodia. A meeting of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council will be held in Paris this week at the level of the deputy foreign ministers of the USSR, the United States, China, Britain, and France. They will examine all the proposals advanced recently on settling the Cambodian problem. At the same time contacts have become more active among representatives of Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Australia in Southeast Asia.

Resolving the conflict in which the contradictions in Southeast Asia have long been focused would mean substantially improving the situation throughout the Asia and Pacific region. Above all, a settlement in Cambodia would eliminate the most tender sore point in Soviet-Chinese relations and thereby expand the possibilities for constructive cooperation between Moscow and Beijing in the international arena. There would be improved prospects for a fruitful dialogue between Beijing and Hanoi, for the normalization of relations between Hanoi and Washington, for good-neighborly ties between the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN, and for mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and the ASEAN members.

And, finally, if such a term as the "Namibian-Cambodian formula" were to come into general political use, this would still further enhance the prestige of the United Nations and broaden the potential for its peacemaking role in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and the Near East.

Biryukov Analysis

LD1701183890 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 17 Jan 90

["Cambodian Settlement—TASS Comment"]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

The meeting on Cambodia between representatives of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, which ended in Paris on Tuesday [16 January], testified to the international community's growing concern that the Pol Pot regime could return to power in Cambodia.

Its urgent convocation was dictated by the sharp intensification of combat operations by Pol Pot detachments in northwestern Cambodia, their attempts to destabilise the situation in the capital and the country. The operations started immediately after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in September of last year and reflect the stubborn desire of Pol Pot men to recapture power by force.

On the eve of the Paris meeting, THE TIMES newspaper wrote that efforts should be directed at depriving the "Khmer Rouge" of the possibility of capturing power. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas urged exerting every effort to prevent the Khmer Rouge from returning to Phnom Penh and holding U.N.-supervised free elections, allowing Cambodians to decide their future themselves.

Judging by the statement passed at the Paris meeting, its participants took notice of the world public concern. The representatives of the five states, who had special responsibility for the maintenance of peace, unanimously agreed that no acceptable settlement can be reached in Cambodia by force. Therefore a comprehensive political settlement on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia, a cease-fire, and the termination of any military aid from abroad should be ensured there. Participants in the meeting unanimously agreed to make effective use of the U.N.'s growing role in regional settlements to promote the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

Naturally, for various reasons participants in the Paris meeting could not address all the issues. Their discussion will continue over the next few weeks. At the same time they supported the efforts of interested sides to promote a comprehensive political settlement and the earliest resumption of a constructive dialogue between Cambodian groups, orienting themselves to the resumption, at the appropriate moment, of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia.

Other parties involved in the Paris process have also stepped up their diplomatic efforts. Indonesia declared its readiness to host informal talks on Cambodia prior to the resumption of the Paris conference. This statement was preceded by talks between Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and all interested parties.

A flurry of diplomatic activity in the past few days around the Cambodian settlement problem makes it possible to speak about signs of positive shifts. World public opinion is counting on the intensification of the negotiation process to promote the earliest establishment of peace in Cambodia and to improve the situation in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region.

Pogodin on Paris Meeting

BK1801074590 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] For 2 consecutive days—15 and 16 January—a meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the UN Security Council's five permanent members was held in Paris. This meeting was dedicated to the search for ways to achieve a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

Our commentator, Aleksandr Pogodin, writes:

Before the start of this meeting, many observers pessimistically predicted that there was little chance for it to be successful. They based their view on the fact that the international conference on Cambodia held in Paris in the middle of last year failed to produce any agreement to bring an end to the conflict. They also pointed out that the countries taking part in the latest meeting had different, varied attitudes toward each party involved in the Cambodian conflict. For this reason, it was hard to entertain any hope of securing an effortless consensus.

This was the pre-meeting forecast. However, the just concluded meeting in Paris showed that when people really had the common desire to come to a mutually acceptable solution, they would surely overcome even their most profound difference. Such a responsible attitude helped conjure up unity around all the principal issues. Participants of the meeting expressed identical belief that peace in Cambodia could be restored only through a comprehensive political solution. They stressed the need for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of this country, for a cease-fire, and for the cessation of all foreign military aid to the parties involved in the conflict.

The document adopted in Paris holds that the objective of the solution is to let the Cambodian people enjoy self-determination through free and democratic elections.

We also note their consensus on the need for the United Nations to play an active role in normalizing the situation in Cambodia. The United Nations shall have the duty of playing a fairly important role in ensuring security in the country and promoting constructive dialogues between the parties involved in the conflict.

The permanent members of the Security Council did not consider their mission over. They agreed to hold regular meetings of their representatives to carry on the discussion on the implementation of various measures to realize a political solution to the Cambodian problem with effective UN participation.

In conclusion, our commentator, Aleksandr Pogodin, writes:

The Paris meeting bears a considerable meaning. We hope that this meeting will bring a new impetus to the process of normalizing the Cambodian situation. It may also set a clear precedent for fruitful solutions to all other complex international problems on the basis of mutual concessions.

Correction: Philippine Economic Situation

HK1801023790

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Philippine Economic Situation Surveyed," published in the 17 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 29: Page 30, column one, last paragraph, should read: ...because without such measures, plans to control inflation and combat unemployment will come to naught. (adding missing elements, rewording)

Near East & South Asia

Soviet Envoy Highlights Strong Ties With Syria

JN1801072890 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0515 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow—Rafik Nishanov, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Council of Nationalities at the Presidium, has emphasized the deep relations between the two friendly countries, Syria and the Soviet Union.

While receiving People's Assembly Speaker 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah and the delegation accompanying him yesterday, Nishanov said: President Mikhail Gorbachev has asked me to convey through you his warm greetings to President Hafiz al-Asad, who is devoting his policy to serve the interests of his people.

He said Syria and the Soviet Union are bound by relations of friendship and both are struggling side by side against the enemies, both regarding the Middle East issue and other regional and international issues, and this boosts the relations between the two countries.

Nishanov pointed out that development of relations has deepened notably since the meeting between the two leaders Hafiz al-Asad and Mikhail Gorbachev. He explained that the Soviet leadership adopts a clear strategic policy of cooperation with Syria, and said those who wager on the possibility of a diminishing in the future relations between the two countries will lose. Friendship between the two countries, he pointed out, was tested several times in the past and it always passed, and will also do so in the future.

Nishanov added that Syria was subjected to heavy pressure to change its policy and national line, but the Syrian leadership has always had in mind the chief interests of its people. The policy that serves the interests of the people, he said, will always succeed and triumph. Nishanov expressed hope for continued contacts between the two leaders al-Asad and Gorbachev and for promoting the parliamentary relations between the two friendly countries.

'Abd-al-Qadir Qaddurah then spoke about the importance of relations between Syria and the Soviet Union and expressed the conviction that these relations are progressing firmly and will not retreat. He said: President al-Asad has asked me to convey his greetings and best wishes to the Soviet friends, especially Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and the friends at the Supreme Soviet.

Shevardnadze To Present Mediation Plan in Tehran

NC1401141490 Paris AFP in English 1304 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Tehran, Jan 14 (AFP)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is to visit Tehran shortly to present Moscow's plan to mediate between Iran and Iraq, Keyhan newspaper reported here Sunday.

Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, quoted by the paper, said the "imminent visit" was aimed at fixing a meeting in Moscow between Mr. Velayati and his Iraqi counterpart Tariq 'Aziz.

Iran and Iraq have both reacted positively to the recent Soviet offer to revive their U.N.-brokered peace talks, which have been deadlocked since a cease-fire in the eight-year Gulf war took effect in August 1988.

But Iran's U.N. envoy, Kamal Kharrazi, has said it must not only follow U.N. Resolution 598, providing the framework for a settlement, but also assume recognition of the 1975 Algiers accord on the disputed Shatt al-Arab waterway. Iraq has repeatedly declared the accord null and void, claiming sovereignty over the entire waterway, which flows into the Gulf. The two countries also differ sharply in their interpretation of Resolution 598.

Border Crossing Agreements Signed With Iran

NC1701180290 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, on 16 January an Iranian delegation headed by (Tale' Masuleh), head of the visa office [as heard] of the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran [IRI], which was visiting the Soviet Union to discuss tourism and facilities for Iranian and Soviet citizens to travel between the two countries as well as for border exchanges, concluded its talks and left for home.

The draft of a memorandum of understanding between the Governments of the USSR and the IRI on conditions for travel by citizens of the two countries to meet their relatives or attend to personal business and the draft of an accord between the USSR Government and the IRI on providing facilities for citizens residing in the border areas to cross the official borders were handed over to the Iranian delegation.

The draft of the memorandum envisages creating facilities for Soviet and Iranian citizens to travel between the two countries to visit relatives and shrines and participate in traditional festivals, as well as for other purposes in cases where the reasons for exit and entry is the result of humanitarian considerations; and a definite period is specified on the exit papers on the basis of a written request by the citizens.

Special travel documents will be used for entry and exit at border checkpoints, which will take place by means of an international passenger service which has been established .

In the draft of the accord, facilities for Soviet and Iranian citizens residing in border areas will be provided on the basis of national passports, which will include an additional paper allowing the passport holder to make repeated trips across the border. Crossing the official borders will be done at checkpoints set up especially for this purpose.

A Soviet delegation will visit Iran at the end of January to continue the talks and to sign the abovementioned documents.

Delegation Discusses POW's in Afghanistan

Meets With Najibullah

LD1601172590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the All-Union Association of Afghanistan POW Families recently visited Kabul.

[Correspondent A. Shkirando] It is already the second time that this delegation has visited Kabul. A meeting with Afghan President Najibullah is a result of its stay here, a result that is extraordinary. After all, in a dramatic situation such as this, a great deal depends on the Afghan side. We not only share the grief experienced by Soviet mothers, stated Najibullah, but we also make use of even the smallest opportunities, doing all that we can to ensure that their sons return home.

[I.A. Andronov, head of delegation] [video shows delegation meeting Najibullah] In essence, preparations began again today for the release of the second group of our POWs.

[Shkirando] Are the names of our boys who can be released known?

[Andronov] No, the opposition never told us their names. We did not even know the names of the two that had been released. It was only after a week that we learned their names. We asked the opposition to at least tell the mothers which of their sons are alive. We were refused. We were refused when we asked that there should be exchange of letters between the families, mothers and the prisoners of war. We were refused visits,

the basic prison visits. The talks were very harsh and the coming talks appear anything but simple. They will be lengthy, tiring, and, unfortunately, we know from experience that not everyone will be released at once and we will have to strive for the release of our boys in small batches; we will have to make great efforts here, but there is no other way.

Delegation Returns Home

LD1501143390 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Kabul January 15 TASS—The delegation from the all-union association of families of Soviet soldiers held prisoner in Afghanistan has wound up its visit to the Republic of Afghanistan.

During the week-long stay the delegation met President Najibullah, state security minister Gholam Faruq Yaqubi, members of the society of wives and mothers of fallen soldiers of the revolution and representatives of public organisations.

"We did not expect any miracles from our present visit to Kabul", Iona Andronov, head of the delegation, told TASS. "We expressed profound gratitude to President Najibullah for his role in the recent liberation of two Soviet prisoners of war. The Afghan side has already turned over to the opposition 22 out of 33 of their supporters. Documents are being issued for the last eleven. So, Kabul will fulfil its obligations.

"The head of state assured us that the Afghan leadership would support, in action, the association's efforts to liberate Soviet officers and men who are still languishing in prison.

"Afghan comrades handed over to us a list of provinces where, according to available information, various field commanders of the opposition hold 67 Soviet prisoners of war," Andronov said. The national reconciliation policy pursued by the Afghan Government opens new opportunities for their release and return home. Much work is still to be done.

The delegation left for home today.

Najibullah's New Year Prospects for Afghanistan

PM1201161990 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 1, 1990 pp 20-22

[Interview with President Najibullah of Afghanistan in Kabul by Gennadiy Ariyevich: "'We Are Optimists'"; date of interview not given]

[Text] NEW TIMES. Soon it will be ten years since the Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan and nine months since their pull-out from the Republic. What is the significance of these anniversaries for the Afghan people and for you personally?

Najibullah. This is not a simple question. Evidently, the time has not come yet to give a comprehensive assessment of the events past. The only thing I would like to speak about today is the Soviet Union's interested aid to the Afghan people. We appreciate it very much.

On the other hand, the sending of Soviet troops to Afghanistan and their subsequent pullout has become a thing of the past, and I think that now it's much more important and topical to concentrate our efforts on ensuring our future.

N.T. When it was decided to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan few people among enemies, and even among friends, believed that the popular government would manage to hold out. People were trying to guess: How much time was alloted to the popular regime. Yet they did hold out and affirm their viability. How would you account for that?

N. The point is that common sense is beginning to prevail. We agreed to the pullout of the Soviet troops when we realized that the Afghan army was able to rebuff extremists and aggressors.

In the 10 odd years of its existence, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan has become firmly established, has become stronger and enjoys the support of wide sections of population. The popular regime has reaffirmed its viability in the running of the country and in the defence of our national interests against foreign interference and aggression.

One of the factors in the strengthening of the popular regime is the new political atmosphere in the world, the reduction of tension, the dialogue, and the efforts to settle regional conflicts. The Soviet-American summit in Malta has been another contributing factor. Afghanistan is part of this overall process and cannot be excluded from it.

Another important political factor is that our people have become tired of the war and have an aversion for those who intend to continue it. Even those in the armed opposition are getting tired of the war. Many of their detachments are no longer eager to fight, and with each day passing they show more and more independence from the leaders of "the seven." The field commanders, realizing that there is no prospects for winning the war, are beginning to think about national interests and stopping the fratricidal slaughter.

The main factor contributing to the achievement of peace is the popular support for the policy of national reconciliation. We are optimists and we believe that the day is not far off when everyone will realize that the war cannot help to achieve anything.

N.T. What is your idea of the programme for a settlement in Afghanistan?

N. Despite the continuing policy of interference on the part of the United States, Pakistan and some other countries, despite the intransigence of some opposition

groups, there are some grounds to hope for a political settlement and the achievement of peace in Afghanistan in the near future.

We are making efforts to find a peaceful solution for the Afghan problem both in its internal and external aspects.

As for the domestic policy, while pursuing the policy of national reconciliation, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan will continue to seek ways for dialogue and conduct negotiations with detachments, groups and field commanders of the armed opposition. Toegther with the peace-loving world community we are going to do all we possibly can to improve the political situation in the world and to put an end to foreign interference in the affairs of Afghanistan.

N.T. The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan has worked out a whole package of proposals aimed at the rehabilitation of the Afghan economy and development of Soviet-Afghan ties. Could you speak in greater detail about this programme?

N. In the conditions of war it is very difficult to ensure the implementation of economic development plans. Nevertheless, the government of the republic is paying serious attention to the improvement of living conditions of our people and the development of all spheres of life of our society. There is a need to remove the damage caused by the war in the shortest possible time and ensure conditions for the development of the national economy. It is obvious, that in the realization of such tasks, of great importance to us is the assistance of the friendly countries and especially that of the USSR. But I would like to stress that in the future our relations and our cooperation must not have a unilateral character. We want to build such relations on mutually advantageous basis and we have all necessry conditions for this.

N.T. What would you like to wish the Soviet people on the eve of the New Year?

N. I would like to wish that the new year see a further strengthening and development of our fruitful cooperation for the benefit of our two peoples and in the interests of peace and stability in the region and the world at large. I express our sincere sympathy to the mothers whose sons are still in captivity. We shall do all in our power to free them. I also hope that the Soviet people will score great successes in effecting perestroyka.

N.T. Thank you very much for the interview and your heartfelt wishes.

AAPSO Calls for Cease-fire in Afghanistan

LD1501133690 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Cairo January 15 TASS—The Standing Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) has called for an immediate ceasefire in Afghanistan.

Its statement, circulated here, says that the world public is seriously concerned about the continuing bloodshed and heightened tension on Afghan soil.

Following the failure of attempts to overthrow the legitimate Afghan Government, the various opposition groups are resorting to new criminal actions. They are killing innocent civilians, destroying houses and property. Many towns and villages have become targets of extremists' attacks, the document says.

The AAPSO strongly denounced the opposition groups' actions against their own people. The bloodshed has no justification now that the Geneva agreements have been signed and Soviet troops have withdrawn from Afghanistan.

The Afghan Government has displayed readiness for negotiations with various oppostion groups in search of an acceptable political solution to existing problems.

The AAPSO denounces the forces that, having signed the Geneva accords, continue to supply extremist groups with weapons and to train them. The Afghan people desire real peace. Hatred and hostility should give way to dialogue and national reconciliation.

Afghan Spokesman, Special Envoy Interviewed

PM1801102590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[P. Timofeyev feature comprising TASS correspondents Ye. Aleksandrov and N. Semenenko report on interviews with Afghan Mujahidin Interim Government spokesmen Khamid Karzai and Abdur Rakhman in Peshawar; unattributed interview with Special Envoy N.I. Kozyrev, in charge of Afghan settlement problems at the USSR Foreign Ministry; and interview with I. Andronov, leader of the All-Union Association of Families of Soviet Prisoners of War, by P. Timofeyev in Moscow; dates of interviews not given: "Will There be Any Changes? Reportage from the Afghan Opposition 'Interim Government' Headquarters and Two Comments Thereon"]

[Text] Peshawar, the administrative center of Northwest Pakistan, is nowadays best known as the location of the main headquarters of armed Afghan opposition groupings. The purpose of our trip to this city was to meet the armed opposition's leaders and find out what they think of their country's future and how they intend to solve the Afghan problem, TASS correspondents in Islamabad Ye. Aleksandrov and N. Semenko report to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

A car was sent to pick us up at the hotel. The driver of the fairly new "Toyota," armed with a hand gun, delivered us to our destination after a brief drive along Peshawar's streets. The headquarters of the Afghan opposition "interim government" is tightly fenced off. Guard posts manned by sentries with automatic rifles stand on every corner. Following negotiations with the officer of the

guard, we were allowed to pass through the barbed wire and approach the solid metal gates. We were frisked and the contents of our bags were inspected. The guards' eyes conveyed more curiosity than hostility.

We were met by Khamid Karzai [name as transliterated], whom we knew from past meetings in Islamabad. He now heads the "Mujahidin Interim Government Foreign Relations Administration." He belongs to S. Mojaddeddi's "National Liberation Front of Afghanistan" grouping. Karzai is tall, smart, clean-shaved, and does not wear a head cover. A smile on his face, polite manners, fluent in English. As soon as he saw us, he offered us a cup of traditional Afghan green tea.

Naturally we wanted to know the conclusions drawn by the armed opposition leaders following the end of the summer season of battles in Afghanistan, during which they simply failed to achieve any results at all, despite the withdrawal of Soviet troops. What do they think of the policy of national reconciliation pursued by Kabul for 3 years now, of their country's future?

Our conversation was not an official interview, therefore we took no notes at all. Our interlocutor was calm and confident. He did not express any worry about the lack of success in the battles against government forces. In his words, this fighting season "is not indicative." There can be no talks at all with Kabul. The war will continue until the total defeat of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Government. He called on the Soviet Union to stop its military-economic aid and political support for Najibullah and to begin direct talks with the mujahidin. In his opinion, this alone can bring about a solution to the Afghan problem by political means.

In order to obtain answers to other questions, it was suggested that we approach Abdur Rakhim [name as transliterated], official spokesman of the "interim government." He is also general director of MIDIA [name as transliterated], the news service operating under this "government."

Abdur Rakhman's office is modest and businesslike: A desk, a map of Afghanistan, a globe, a couple of chairs. In many respects he presents the stereotype mujahidin image: a thick black beard, wearing the traditional Pashto gray woolen flat cap. His speech is fast and curt. He is more categorical in his judgments, displaying an unwillingness to discuss any opinion that differs from his.

Having repeated the mujahidin stance on an Afghan settlement along lines similar to those expressed by Khamid Karzai, Abdur Rakhim added:

[Rakhim] From Moscow's and Kabul's viewpoint, national reconciliation in Afghanistan means that the mujahidin ought to share power with Najibullah and the PDPA. We will never accept this. The Soviet Union must stop helping the Kabul regime, and we will very soon gain victory.

[Correspondents] But you also receive aid from abroad?

[Rakhim] We are fully entitled to it, seeing that we are waging a holy war.

[Correspondents] But what can the mujahidin leadership offer instead of the national reconciliation policy?

[Rakhim] The unconditional resignation of the PDPA regime. There is no alternative.

[Correspondents] What is your attitude toward the problems of Soviet prisoners of war, dozens of Soviet men are still held by mujahidin detachments on Pakistani territory....

[Rakhim] We are prepared to discuss this problem with the Soviet Union. You know, we handed two soldiers over to the USSR recently as a goodwill gesture. But there are difficulties blocking the path of such talks. We believe that it is necessary to bear in mind that, according to our information, there are about 30,000 Afghans in the Soviet Union, forcibly driven out of their motherland. In our opinion, the prisoners of war question is altogether impossible to solve in isolation from a discussion of the situation in Afghanistan. [end Rakhim]

A Diplomat's Opinion...

We asked Special Envoy N.I. Kozyrev, in charge of Afghan settlement problems at the USSR Foreign Ministry, to comment on this report.

[Correspondents] Nikolay Ivanovich, many specialists today talk about the "Lebanization" of the Afghan conflict, believing that the war in this region will last many more years. What is your opinion, is the situation in terms of an Afghan settlement really deadlocked?

[Kozyrev] Speaking of the problem of creating a coalition government, then yes, so far there has been hardly any significant progress. But if we look at the situation around Afghanistan as a whole, let us consider the realities. The legitimate government remains in existence, even though people in the West predicted that Kabul would fall within a matter of weeks following the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It will soon be a year since any of our soldiers have been in Afghanistan, and the government's positions have only strengthened. In the last 3 months alone the process of reconciliation has been joined by 54 armed detachments numbering more than 22,000 men. Thus, I would not evaluate the situation as deadlocked.

Quite the contrary, quarrels and internal strife are spreading in the mujahidin camp. The so-called "interim government" is absolutely ineffective, and this is now recognized by virtually everyone in the world. Incidentally, according to the latest news reports from Islamabad, the mujahidin have come to a decision to form a new government by May 1990 which, according to their plan, would be able to gain international recognition and unite all opposition factions.

An accumulation of factors is under way, quantity has yet to be transformed into quality, but this could happen in the very near future. New elements are taking shape: The firmness of Najibullah's government and its potential to offer effective resistance are gradually leading to a realization that the opposing sides must engage in a dialogue and seek political ways of settlement. Even if the situation around Afghanistan does not undergo any radical changes in the next few months, I am convinced that the mujahidin will embark on talks with the Kabul government in the spring or early summer. As regards official statements by some of their leaders about a "jihad" [holy war] until final victory, in my view this is largely a cover, an attempt to pressure Najibullah and the Soviet Union.

Healthy positions on this question are beginning to take shape also among the Pakistanis and Americans. They also realize that it is impossible to wage war endlessly. Last August I met with U.S. representatives at consultations on Afghanistan in Stockholm. At that time they did not want to even listen to talk about a political settlement: either a voluntary handover of power, or the mujahidin would take power from the PDPA by armed force. The Americans had no doubts about the fruitfulness of the opposition's combat operations.

It is not that much later now, but the conversation is conducted in quite a different tone. The Soviet-U.S. meetings in Wyoming and Malta showed that the U.S. position has become much more flexible.

[Correspondents] Is the question of a mutual end to arms deliveries to the combatant sides being discussed at talks with the Americans?

[Kozyrev] We have repeatedly raised this problem. The Americans, while not refusing to discuss it in principle, have so far not given us a definite answer. But here it is necessary to take two very important nuances into account. When the Soviet Union put forward the idea of terminating arms deliveries, we said that deliveries of arms and combat equipment to the combatant sides must be terminated by all—not just the USSR and the United States but also Saudi Arabia and other countries. After all, whereas Kabul receives arms only from the Soviet Union, the mujahidin are supplied by many countries. People in our country at times take a simplistic view of this problem. And another point: The termination of deliveries must without fail be accompanied by a cease-fire. Otherwise this will produce nothing, both sides have stockpiled more than enough weapons. [end Kozyrev]

...and That of a Representative of the Public

My next interlocutor has perhaps had more occasions than most to meet with mujahidin leaders. He is A. Andronov, leader of the All-Union Association of Families of Soviet Prisoners of War. At present he and a delegation of mothers of Soviet soldiers lost in Afghanistan are again in Kabul. We met with him on the eve of his departure from Moscow and also asked him to comment on the reportage received from Pakistan.

[Timofeyev] In your view, what is behind this tough talk by representatives of the Afghan "interim government?"

[Andronov] This is their official stance, and they constantly emphasize it. Admittedly you should not forget that they were talking to TASS correspondents. The mujahidin are perfectly well informed of who is who in our country: When addressing representatives of the state news agency they would act as if addressing the Soviet Government. They also use a different language, which is not so tough, when the same stance is described in a different form, with various concessions, with readiness to slightly open the door for talks.

So far we in the Soviet Union have been unable to comprehend one point. We know about our losses in Afghanistan and the sorrow of our mothers. But the other side has also lost a great deal in this war! You talk with them and start speaking about charity: Here you see mothers who are totally innocent, why are you taking revenge on them? As a rule, the answer is always the same: "What charity are you talking about? After all it was you who invaded our home, we did not invite you in, more than 1 million of our 15 million population have died, every family has been affected by the war. How can we forgive you for this?" And they fan out on the table before you a bunch of previously prepared photographs showing Afghans maimed by the war. "The Soviet soldiers have gone, it is all over for them, but we are still being killed by Soviet bombs and missiles...." I am not at all on these people's side, but we must learn to understand them if we want to reach accord with them, things are much too painful there for everyone.

[Timofeyev] Abdur Rakhim, director of the Afghan opposition's information service, spoke of 30,000 Afghans allegedly forcibly moved to the Soviet Union....

[Andronov] I even heard the figure of 40,000 mentioned in Peshawar. I do not know where they get these figures. There are no Afghan prisoners in our country. There are orphan children whose parents died in the fire of the war waged in Afghanistan. There are about 3,000 such children. They are being taught here at the Afghan Government's request.

[Timofeyev] The first two Soviet prisoners of war, Andrey Lopukh and Valeriy Prokopchuk, have finally returned home. Can it be expected that our other guys will be given back to us in the immediate future, and do you have any data on how many of them are left in the mujahidin camps?

[Andronov] Despite the bombastic statements, there is no single opposition government, and every grouping has its own prisoners. The mujahidin themselves do not know how many Soviet soldiers there are at their bases, but each one of them is guarded like a gold reserve. They perceive our guys as the most convenient hostages, the only lever for pressure on the Soviet Union. In exchange

for the prisoners they want to acquire guarantees that our arms deliveries to Kabul will stop. This is why it is so difficult for us to talk; after all we are a nongovernment delegation and we emphasize this at all meetings with the mujahidin. At the same time we have now taken the only correct path; our state cannot conduct such talks because this would mean de facto recognition of the opposition government, and the mujahidin, no matter how hard their hearts may be, cannot brush the mothers aside.

Our present trip to Kabul is the start of a new stage in the liberation of Soviet prisoners. No swift success can be expected. The talks will be long and painful.

Sub-Saharan Africa

De Klerk Promises 'Equal Chances' in S. Africa

PM1201161590 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 1, 1990 p 28

[Interview with President Frederik de Klerk of South Africa by Nikolay Reshetnyak in Pretoria: "From Race Antagonism to Harmony"; date of interview not given]

[Text] NEW TIMES. In many countries your rise to power is associated with changes in South Africa's home and foreign policies. How do you see South Africa's future?

Frederik de Klerk. I honestly believe that we will be able to resolve many of our urgent problems before long. We have taken the road of involving all sections of the population in running the nation and we want to ensure the fair distribution of social wealth. That can be achieved only through a dialogue with all the parties concerned. The new system that we all seek to bring about is designed to grant all South Africans equal chances in displaying their abilities.

South Africa's requirements are to a certain extent determined by the diversity of ethnic groups and the large number of different cultures, languages and philosophies.... In a word, we must look for examples to follow in such multiethnic countries as Belgium or Switzerland, where the harmony of interests of all ethnic groups and sections of the population has been achieved. We do believe sincerely that we will be able to gradually solve our problems, but at this point it is impossible to name any specific dates. One step will simply entail another. But, of course, we are aware that time is an extremely important factor and we've got to move fast and we are going to do so.

N.T. [NEW TIMES] One of your first actions in the capacity of president was to release a number of political prisoners who had for a long time been kept in jail for the sole reason of fighting against racial discrimination and protecting their legitimate rights....

F.K. [Frederik de Klerk] It is incorrect to say that those people were in prison only because they had fought against racial discrimination or defended their legitimate rights. They were there because they had taken part in acts of violence; because they made and exploded bombs and engaged in other activities that jeopardized the life and property of citizens.... Each of those "fighters" had served the required sentence, they had stayed in jail long and we decided that they had atoned for what they had done to society.

Our government has repeatedly said that the unconditional abolition of racial discrimination, of privileges of one race over another is our goal. And we have been doing everything in our powers to achieve that noble goal.

N.T. What will serve as the basis of your relations with the national liberation movements in South Africa?

F.K. I would like to point out the fact that we have been fighting only against those movements that conduct terrorist activity. I have said more than once that the African National Congress may join in the negotiations on a new constitution in South Africa that would give full and fair political rights to all peoples of our country.

The only demand we make is that the ANC must denounce violence and terrorism in public. The doors to the negotiations with us are open and anybody can come in....

N.T. I was a witness to your meeting with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in Livingstone near the Victoria Falls. To my mind that was a good occasion to talk about peace on earth and about the future in that impressive setting created by nature.... How do you see future relations with the neighbouring countries of Black Africa?

F.K. That's true, as I stood there, at the Victoria Falls I pondered over the enormous human and economic potential of the African continent. It is a most important objective of my government to establish relations with all neighbouring countries. We would like the countries of southern Africa cooperate in the future in exactly the same way as the European countries. We must establish firm economic ties, we need each other, and South Africa with its infrastructure and experience can play a constructive role in building a Community of countries of southern Africa. This community will benefit other countries because South Africa's economic potential may becomes a rather profitable market for exporters around the world.

We also hope that in the foreseeable future there can be a summit conference of the countries of the region. We have been working along these lines. President Kaunda said recently that such an opportuntiy looked realistic to him. The South of Africa needs stability. In Namibia, the process of decolonization has been going on successfully. If reconcilliation is achieved in Angola and stability restored to Mozambique, I believe we will live to see a new era in South Africa.

N.T. What do you think of future relations with our country?

F.K. We want good relations with all countries around the world. Moscow's new political thinking has paved the way for solving any problems by peaceful means. The situation has been improving fundamentally and for that reason I think we have good chances to improve mutually beneficial relations.

N.T. Apartheid has remained the main obstacle in the way of solving many problems. This is recognized by the international community. Is your administration going to take any steps to remove that obstacle and thereby to open up broader opportunities for cooperation between South Africa and other countries?

F.K. First of all let me remind you that I've been in politics for 18 years and I have never defended apartheid. However, there still is a wrong understanding of our government's attitude to that question. As far as the still existing practices of discrimination based on the segregation of races on the account of colour are concerned, we are going to abandon them. In the near future we shall abolish the act on segregated leisure facilities, which is an act of discrimination against the black population. During the three months I've been in office much has been done to show that we are working in earnest on how to guarantee the equal and fair distribution of rights and public wealth.

N.T. What would you wish the Soviet people?

F.K. I would simply like to say that we are building a new South Africa, a country where there will be equal opportunities for all and where different ethnic groups will feel they live in peace and security.

S. African CP, ANC Leader Discusses Goals

PM1701162590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report on interview with Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and member of South Africa's African National Congress National Executive Committee, by TASS correspondent Vladimir Zbaratskiy in Lusaka; date of interview not given: "The Main Task"]

[Text] Lusaka, 12 Jan—The main task of the South African Communist Party [SACP] is to create conditions in South Africa for shaping nonracial democracy and attracting a broad strata of the population to its side, Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP and member of South Africa's African National Congress [ANC] National Executive Committee, has stated here.

The ANC and SACP have always been committed to the principles of eliminating apartheid by peaceful means, he noted in an interview with TASS correspondent Vladimir Zbaratskiy. The idea of attaining this objective by force of arms has been and remains alien to us. This strategy was forced on the fighters against racism, who took this path when no other opportunities were left to eliminate apartheid and build democracy in South Africa by peaceful means. Repressions continue in the country, the emergency situation has not been repealed to this day, thousands of people including ANC leader Nelson Mandela are in prison for their political beliefs, and all antiracist organizations are banned. So far there has been no opportunity to conduct a struggle using political methods alone—they have to be coupled with armed methods.

The ANC and SACP declare their readiness to take the path of talks with the Republic of South Africa government, but their objective must be defined beforehand, Joe Slovo said. The main topic of the dialogue must be the question of building a free, nonracial, democratic society in South Africa. If the country's leadership is prepared for such a dialogue, we are in favor of talks. Facts testify, however, that President Frederik de Klerk's government is not prepared for this.

The working class has been and remains the most organized force in South Africa, the vanguard of the struggle against apartheid and for the building of a society of justice and equality, the SACP leader emphasized. In our opinion, the question of building socialism in South Africa cannot be raised immediately following the destruction of apartheid. We must wage a constant struggle for people's minds and try to convince them of the socialist system's advantages. The SACP is not abandoning its objective of creating conditions for the building of socialism in the country—but it believes that it is primarily necessary to affirm in people's minds an awareness of its advantages over other systems. If a genuine democratic society were to be created in South Africa, a gradual movement toward socialism would be inevitable.

Joe Slovo pointed out the tremendous role played by the USSR in settling the situation in South Africa. He stressed that in the eyes of millions of progressively minded inhabitants of South Africa, the Soviet Union is a symbol of struggle against oppression, racial hatred, and injustice for genuine democracy and equality.

In connection with events in East Europe, Joe Slovo said that the changes now taking place there give rise to conjectures that socialism has supposedly failed to prove its worth, that it is doomed, and that the Marxist-Leninist philosophy is nothing but utopia. It is fundamentally incorrect to talk about the death of socialism. The system founded on the desire for genuine democracy, equality, and social justice will live into the future. It is a different matter whether what occurred under Stalin, Brezhnev, and Ceausescu can be described as socialism. Socialism had to be forgotten under their rule; in essence it was banned. Over the last few years, since M.S. Gorbachev took the helm of leadership in the USSR, socialism has revealed itself afresh and has displayed its actual force. The Soviet leader launched a decisive struggle to augment the advantages of the

socialist system, implemented a series of radical economic reforms, and took a resolute step toward Soviet society's democratization.

Commentary Praises Namibia's 'Moderate' Policy

MB1401083990 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Yelena Olgina commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] The government of independent Namibia has held its first meeting. It looks like its program will be quite moderate, just as the country's Constitution. As is known, lengthy debates on the key points of the constitution produced a compromise suiting all the sections of the population, white and African. You may say that the future ministers will also choose a moderate policy. To give SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and its leader their due, they decided against pressing for too radical reforms and displayed sufficient flexibility in their dialogue with the other members of the Constituent Assembly.

Namibia is the last country of the continent attaining independence. Its future leaders will have before them the experience of other countries, positive and negative alike. For example, too hasty reforms in Angola and Mozambique led to a loss of skilled personnel and to a decline of production throughout the national economy. As a result, the good intentions of ensuring universal equality and doing away with exploitation failed to materialize, bringing instead civil wars and economic crises. It is only recently after the two countries gave up some of their previous erroneous views that the situation in them has been showing some signs of improvement.

It is obvious that this is a version that neither Sam Nujoma nor his supporters want for Namibia. To prevent civil war and economic chaos are probably the most important goals of the government. Evading the two evils is also the wish of those states that in some way or another are involved in the process of peaceful settlement in Namibia; too great efforts, moral and material, are required later to settle internal conflicts and revive the economies. The 30-year experience of the continent proved this convincingly.

Yes, the new leadership of Namibia wants to see citizens prosperous, enjoying equal rights and opportunities. But all this is impossible to achieve overnight. That is why the government offers long-term reforms. The country has to go through a stage of evolution before it builds a multiracial, harmonious society. This is all the more so that history has examples of gradual reforms that do not infringe on anyone's interests. In Zimbabwe, for one, the government gradually buys out wastelands from white farmers and turns them over to Africans. It is obvious that such a land reform can work also in Namibia. Its gradual character will guarantee the country against devastation of agriculture, and will enable it, just as Zimbabwe, to export food instead of living at the expense of foreign aid.

The Constitution includes the charter on human rights. The new government wants to guarantee citizens the right to a decent life. We hope it will reach this noble goal.

Mozambique Draft Constitution Offers Stability

LD1501025690 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1800 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Yelena Olgina commentary—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] The president of the People's Republic of Mozambique has made public the new country's new draft constitution. The following commentary is by Yelena Olgina:

Even a brief list of the amendments proposed by the Mozambican leaderhsip would bear witness to its desire to bring about radical change. [passage omitted]

The Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] has reacted to the draft constitution with hostility. No other reaction could be expected, as this is not the first time that the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] has stolen a march on its opponents. It is hard to imagine what pretext Renamo will invoke now in order to continue its terrorist activities. [passage omitted] It would seem that Renamo derives greater benefits from its clandestine status than it would from legalization and integration into Mozambican society. Of course, it is easier to terrify peaceful villagers and spread destruction than to prove with concrete deeds one's fidelity to the ideals of independence.

As was to be expected after Frelimo's Fifth Congress, the new draft constitution contains no mention of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, as shown by some steps taken by the Mozambican leadership, the country is not sliding toward anticommunist or anti-Soviet stance. Take the following example: A few days ago, the director of the central newspaper NOTICIAS was dismissed from his post. The reason was the anticommunist line adopted in the reporting of the developments in Eastern Europe, which was based primarily on material from the Portuguese news agency LUSA. [passage omitted]

So the Marxist lexicon is disappearing from the political speeches of the Mozambican leadership. Might they feel drawn by the example of neighboring Zimbabwe—where, incidentally, the socialist ideals coexist peacefully with private enterprise—which, thanks to Mugabe's skillful policies is one of the few African countries free from economic bankruptcy?

It would seem to us that the new draft constitution has fulfilled two important tasks for Mozambique's short-term future: First, it has preempted Renamo, which will find it more and more difficult to pose as a fighter for democracy. Second, the legalization of private enterprise will strengthen the confidence of Western creditors and businessmen that the economic recovery program will not be abolished tomorrow by some government decree.

It is possible that, on this basis, Mozambique may attain political and economic stability.

EPLF Attacks on Polish Ships Denounced

EA1201220090 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 9 Jan 90

[From the "Africa As We See It" Program]

[Text] The Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF], a secessionist group, has claimed responsibility for attacking two Polish ships this past week. Maksim Yevgenyev's commentary on the issue follows.

I would like to remind you of the situation first, says Yevgenyev. An Ethiopian security team on Friday [5 January] found a Polish ship which was heavily damaged near the Port of Mersa, about 100 km from Mits'iwa Port. It was learned that at the time there were no occupants on board the ship. Fortunately, the other Polish ship [words indistinct] said that when they attempted to reach the other damaged ship, they were chased off by a missile attack. The damaged ship had 30 crew members aboard, according to the Ethiopian Government. According to Red Cross reports from Port Sa'id on Tuesday, all the crew members of the ship are safe and under the control of the secessionists.

According to a statement by an EPLF representative, who claimed responsibility for the attack, they said they had warned earlier that they would attack any ship that supplied arms to the Ethiopian Government. They have also said that the Polish ship was attacked because it had carried arms for the regular army of the Ethiopian Government.

The situation is one of great concern. Who gave the right to the secessionists to attack ships on international waters by use of arms? How can someone know what one ship or another has on board? What will happen if they mistakenly attack a ship? These and similar questions should be raised. Here the tragic situation that occured in the Persian Gulf in summer of 1988 will be recalled.

At that time the American cruiser *Vincennes* mistakenly downed an Iranian passenger aircraft with many passengers aboard. The consequences were very heavy.

By the way, according to representatives of Polish maritime authorities, when [words indistinct] left its port, it was not carrying any arms or any military equipment. The ship left for Mits'iwa port to deliver cotton and four concrete containers, and to load oil seeds on return. Fortunately, no one was hurt among the crew members in the ship.

But this does not mean that the secessionists should be excused for their banditry attacks. In fact, their action is without question international terrorism. The other issue that should be mentioned is that although the current situation in Eritrea calls for goodwill, patience, and a healthy awareness from the opposition group, the act carried out by the secessionists is aimed at internationalizing the conflict and involving other countries. Moreover, the act seems to have been aimed at attempting to pressurize countries who have trade and economic cooperation with the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia says Maksim Yevgenyev, who goes on to say that this tactic will not enhance the prospects for solving the Eritrean problem or increase the popularity of the EPLF.

Polish Envoy's Remarks Endorsed

PM1601094190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent G. Ustinov dispatch: "Ethiopia—Piratical Action in the Red Sea"]

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa—It can be said without exaggeration that for the past few days the Polish Embassy in Addis Ababa has been the focus of attention in diplomatic life here. On Thursday [11 January] Polish ambassador Tadeusz Wujek had a press conference with Russian journalists.

Of course we knew what the subject was going to be, which is why all routine matters were postponed. The Polish ship *Boleslaw Krzywousty* was attacked and practically destroyed 3 January in Ethiopia's territorial waters. The crew were taken prisoner. Their whereabouts are unknown.... [passage omitted]

After contacts were established with the Eritrean Liberation Front [ELF] on 10 January, the Polish Government sent its delegation to Khartoum for talks with representatives of this organization. "I state categorically," Tadeusz Wujek told us, "that we had no weapons on board our ship. It was on its way to the Ethiopian port of Massawa unladen in order to load up with traditional Ethiopian-Polish trade commodities. The ELF's action cannot be seen as anything other than a piratical attack, an act of international terrorism."

Evidently no special comments need to be added to the ambassador's words. But here are a few details about the ELF. It is the oldest opposition group in Ethiopia, having existed for 30 years. Like the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF], it supports the secession of this northern part of the country from Ethiopia. But its authority and influence have decreased significantly in the past few years, and many of the organization's leaders are abroad. Military activity has dropped. And all antiparliamentary activity has come down to political propaganda. And suddenly—modern combatant craft, heavy artillery, rockets, large-scale piratical action. The question inevitably arises: What is behind this? Is what happened not proof of the further unification of forces in opposition to the present Ethiopian authorities?

Whichever way you look at it, the destruction of a peaceful Polish ship and the capture of its crew has met with resolute condemnation in Addis Ababa both in diplomatic circles and among the local people. "Hunting

for hostages" and attempting to achieve some kind of political advantages and concessions in such a dishonorable way is apparently the irreconcilable opposition's favorite weapon. After all, similar incidents have occurred before.

Commentator Views 'Horrendous' Regime in Somalia

EA1301072490 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Reports reaching us from Mogadishu, Somalia, say that President Mohamed Siad Barre has dissolved the government. This step can be linked to the earlier announcement of the democratization of the country's political system. Commenting on this, Aleksandr Fedorov of Radio Moscow says:

I might not be right, but this situation will not last long. Taking into account the previous inflexible policies of Mohamed Siad Barre, this step he has now taken was not expected. Somalis appeared to be watching from a distance the changes taking place in their surroundings and the world at large. What is happening in Somalia is not clear to the peoples of the world, as only scanty information reaches them. It appears that the internal pressure has increased beyond control and has forced Mohamed Siad Barre to yield. The regime has been forced to take action before the situation got out of hand. The regime accepted the formation of a multiparty system in the country. A constitutional referendum has been planned for the country. Finally, the country's government has been dissolved

Reporters with some knowledge of Somalia are asking themselves, have these actions been taken too late? If the answer is no, how will they be implemented? Democracy is always good if there are such openings and if a society's policies are based on social justice and equality. This rosy picture and the ongoing oppression and civil war raging in the country cannot be reconciled. It is not only that the Isaaq tribe has been wiped out. The U.S. Department of State's report on the violation of human rights in Somalia is horrendous. Government soldiers massacred over 5,000 unarmed civilians between May 1988 and May 1989.

Reports coming in from Somalia in the past few months have not been pleasing either. Civil strife and overall instability in almost all the regions of the country has been the order of the day. Hundreds of thousands of Somalis have fled their home country. These fleeing Somalis have moved to refugee centers in Ethiopia. Others have taken refuge in the harsh and difficult life in the rural areas. The British INDEPENDENT newspaper and LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE of France have carried horrific stories. Eyewitness reports confirm the beastly murders of teachers, doctors, businessmen and civil servants, among them the famous Hargeysa group. The eyewitnesses were lucky to escape from the hands of the horrendous, evil regime of Siad. Eyewitness reports also confirm how Army commanders like General Morgan have violated all laws and acted according to their whims.

I have my doubts, says our commentator Aleksandr Fedorov, whether some of the officials of the regime will ever conform with the democratization policies which have been announced. These pledges and the announced national reconciliation will be futile while the bulk of the Somali people inside the country are not satisfied that genuine steps have been taken. This is equivalent to the Somali proverb, "If greeting is good, replying is much better." It is very difficult to remove the growth of hatred among Somalis since civil war has become the order of the day in the country. Such situations in this century, known as the civilized era, are not unique to Somalis since similar situations exist in Africa and the world at large. However, it is only Somalia where the whole population speaks the same language, has the same culture and the same religion. I would love to see Somalia achieve peace and stability based on an atmosphere of mutual understanding, says Aleksandr Fedorov.

East Europe

Bulgarian Roundtable Talks Open 16 Jan

LD1701120390 Moscow TASS in English 1147 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia January 17 TASS—Roundtable talks between the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union, non-party Members of Parliament and the Union of Democratic Forces opened in the National Assembly building here on Tuesday.

The talks will focus on national accord, the political and legal system, including the elaboration of a new electoral law and socio-economic problems. Already the beginning of the talks showed that the dialogue will not be easy and the quest for a more correct way towards democratising society means not only the defence of positions but also compromises.

During premliminary consultations early this January the delegation of the Union of Democratic Forces put forward several conditions which called into question the holding of the talks. These included, in part, the possibility of publishing its own daily newspaper, the provision of an administrative building for the union and also access to radio and television.

"Failure to meet these terms put the union in an unequal position with respect to the other participants in the talks," Union chairman Zhelev said.

Before the opening of the roundtable Andrey Lukhanov, a Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo member, said that one of the demands was met. The Union of Democratic Forces will, in part, be accorded an opportunity to publish a daily newspaper and a weekly.

Summing up the results of the first day of the exchange of views, A. Mirchev, an official representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party delegation, stressed that it was devoted mostly to (organisational and procedural issues related to the agreement on the puhblications and the printing base of the union of democratic forces.

These questions, he said, do not concern the essence of the talks. But the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party fully agrees that their solution is an important condition for the normal work of the roundtable and further democratisation of Bulgarian society.

The next roundtable meeting will be held on Thursday.

Parliament Repeals BCP 'Leading Role' Provision

PM1701143390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own Correspondent report: "For Political Pluralism"]

[Text] Sofia, 16 Jan—At a session of the National Assembly yesterday deputies voted unanimously to repeal those provisions of the Bulgarian constitution which enshrine the leading role of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in the state and say that the Communist Party leads the building of a developed socialist society in collaboration with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]. This proposal was submitted on behalf of the BCP parliamentary group by A. Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

This decision, he noted in his speech, demonstrates the BCP's determination to be a factor for the real democratization of society and the renewal of socialism and to examine political pluralism as the natural environment of its activity.

Keen debates at the session developed on the proposal to change the whole text of article 1 of the constitution, which defines the character of the country's sociopolitical system and points out that Bulgaria is a socialist state.

After an exchange of opinions and a vote it was decided to leave article 1 of the constitution in its present form but to agree that changes are necessary. A contact group of representatives of the BCP and BZNS parliamentary groups and of nonparty deputies was created which was instructed to study this question and submit proposals for the National Assembly's examination next month.

Bulgarian UDF Holds Rally, Demands Reported

PM1701141990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "In the Countries of Eastern Europe": "Bulgaria: Rally by Union of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] Sofia, 15 Jan—A large rally was held on Sunday in the center of the Bulgarian capital. It was held on the initiative of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], which comprises a number of democratic and independent organizations and groups.

The UDF platform at the "roundtable" talks that begin on Tuesday with representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union was read out at the rally. At these talks the UDF intends to demand the resolute democratization of political life in the country. Its representatives will insist on the abrogation of Article 1 of the Bulgarian Constitution which speaks, inter alia, about the BCP's leading role in society, along with the disbandment of BCP organizations in work places and the "depoliticization of the army and militia."

A resolution adopted at the rally stresses that the UDF's main aim is the "peaceful transition from a totalitarian to a democratic society." The union advocates ensuring conditions for the development of a multi-party system, complete freedom of speech and of the press, and the adoption of a new electoral law. It will seek to ensure the equality of private, cooperative, and public ownership, develop a market economy, and rescind all legislative acts that contravene the constitution and international agreements signed by Bulgaria.

A representative of the UDF leadership pointed out in his speech that the union opposes the holding of the planned general election in the country in May and suggests postponing it until the fall. This is justified by the fact that opposition forces are unable in the short period of time remaining to prepare for a full-fledged struggle for deputies' seats in the Bulgarian parliament.

At the rally the incumbent BCP leadership was accused of failing to tell the whole truth about the economic crisis in the country and being unwarrantedly slow with reform and also with calling the republic's former leaders to account.

The rally took place amid slogans of national unity and a protest against attempts to split Bulgarian society. In this connection the gathering voiced support for the decisions of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers on overcoming the serious deformations in national policy committed by the country's former leadership. They also approved a recent National Assembly draft resolution calling for national reconciliation, consensus, and unity among the people of Bulgaria.

CPSU Greets Bulgarian National Agrarian Union

PM1701154590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee undated greetings to Bulgarian National Agrarian Union on its 90th anniversary]

[Text] To the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BNAU]

We cordially congratulate the members of the BNAU—one of the oldest peasant parties in Europe—in connection with the 90th anniversary of its creation.

We share your confidence that the equitable and constructive partnership of the BNAU and the Bulgarian Communist Party in resolving the complex tasks of restructuring Bulgarian society is an important precondition for the success of the policy of socialist renewal.

We wish for fruitful results in your activity for the good of the fraternal Bulgarian people, peace, and socialism.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee.

New CSSR Organizations, People Examined

PM1701143490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov report: "CSSR: New Organizations, New People"]

[Text] Prague—Many people here consider that the main political news of the day is the bilateral talks that have begun in Prague on the question of the presence of Soviet Armed Forces units on the territory of Czechoslovakia. The delegations are headed by deputy foreign ministers of the CSSR and the USSR.

New social organizations and parties are continuing to spring up, and old ones to transmute themselves, in Czechoslovakia. In the hall of congresses of the united agricultural cooperative "Agrokombinat Slusovice," some 600 delegates from all parts of the country founded the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party. Its final name has not yet been decided, although the statutes and program statement have been adopted. Dissociating themselves from the former policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and the discredited members of its leadership, the delegates called for the democratic ideals of T. Masaryk, the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic, and A. Svehla, one of the leaders of the People's Agrarian Party and chairman of the Czechoslovak Government in the twenties, to be followed. At the moment the party has 12,000 members. Lecturer F. Trnka, deputy chairman of the "Slusovice" cooperative for economic questions, was elected chairman of the party.

The extraordinary congress of the Czech Socialist Youth Union lasted 17 stormy hours in the city of Mlada Boleslav on Sunday. As a result a new voluntary and autonomous organization was formed, independent of any political party—the Youth Union of the Czech Socialist Republic, headed by an action committee of 19 people. S. Vasa, a student at the Agricultural Institute in Prague, was elected committee chairman. The delegates came out in favor of making the pioneer organization autonomous too, and joined in the demands to reduce the term of military service. The Youth Union is to put these and other recommendations to the CSSR Socialist Youth Union congress, which is to take place on 27 January.

At the editorial office of the newspaper RUDE PRAVO the first session took place of the editorial council elected at the recent extraordinary congress of the CPCZ (RUDE PRAVO is now an organ of the entire party, not the Central Committee). The council appointed Zdenek Porybny chief editor.

The new leader of the Czechoslovak Communists' newspaper was born in Brno in 1945. He graduated from the Economic Institute in Prague. He also studied in London, where he completed a course in the theory of economic growth. In 1971, after army service, he came to RUDE PRAVO. In 1974-1980 he worked as a correspondent in Paris, and on his return to Prague he headed the international politics department in the editorial office. In 1985-1989 he was RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Washington. Last September Zdenek Porybny became deputy chief editor of the newspaper, and since December he has been acting chief editor.

CSSR Efforts on Environmental Front Reported

PM1801090390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[S. Mushkaterov report: "Each Party Must Be 'Green,' Czechoslovak Ecologists Say"]

[Text] If you ask any person living in Czechoslovakia which of the country's problems worry him most of all, I am sure that environmental conservation will certainly be mentioned as among the most important. The creation in the CSSR of a new Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Environment can be cited as evidence of the growing attention being given to ecological problems.

As J. Durdil, a senior official of the ministry, said at a news conference at the CSSR Embassy in the USSR, appropriations for environmental conservation will be doubled in the next 5-year plan. In the current 5-year plan only 2% of total investments was allocated for these purposes, while many other countries spend 4%, 6%, and even 10%. One way to protect the environment is to reduce the economy's energy intensiveness and materials intensiveness. As K. Pulkrap, deputy director of the Institute of Applied Ecology and Ecotechnology, reported, there are assessments which show that if the national economy had the right structure the CSSR's national income could increase by 20%, 30%, and even 40% without increasing power consumption. On the basis of all this, the structure of the power industry in the CSSR will be reviewed, coal and steel production will be reduced, and heavy industry will be restructured. In connection with the new economic program an ecological one will also be formulated. It will contain all the best from the program approved in 1988, and a series of new measures will also be added.

Perhaps, of everything I heard, measures which at first glance may seem secondary left the the greatest impression on me. For example, ecological problems have already become part of the instruction program in kindergartens and the first grade of primary schools. I am not sure whether something similar exists in our country. But it is difficult to disagree with J. Durdil, who said that the desire to protect the environment must penetrate the consciousness of everyone living in the country.

And, finally, a few short extracts from the answers given by J. Durdil and K. Pulkrap to journalists' questions.

"Does the CSSR cooperate with other countries on environmental questions?"

"Yes. And this cooperation will expand. The CSSR has bilateral treaties on environmental protection with the GDR and Poland. A treaty with the USSR is in the process of being formulated."

"What are the prospects for nuclear power in the CSSR given that there are increasing demands in the country to wind it up?"

"Now we have to establish how much power must be produced at nuclear power stations. As for the existence of nuclear power in the CSSR, this program will be subject to more serious discussion by our public and only after this will the best version be chosen."

"Does a 'Green' party exist in the CSSR?"

"On 17-18 February the constituent congress of the 'Green' party is to held in Brno. Moreover, there are also a number of other similar organizations. But each political party in our country must be 'green.'"

Passions Rise Over German Unification Question

PM1701120690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy report: "The GDR: Confrontation Intensifying"]

[Text] Berlin—The republic has again entered a zone of political storms. It is swamped by demonstrations and mass actions.

As before, there are a great many slogans. The most "aggressive" of them are directed against the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party of Democratic Socialism]. Not only the opposition, which includes the newly formed parties and movements, but also almost all the traditional parties represented in Hans Modrow's coalition government are putting pressure, sometimes amounting to strong-arm tactics, on the SED-PDS. Another slogan that catches the attention is the slogan calling for the unification of Germany. It once again rang out forcefully at the conference held in recent days by the social democrats of the GDR, who will henceforth call themselves the Social Democratic Party of Germany—just like their colleagues in the FRG. The conference's statement on the German question says: "We Social Democrats call for the unity of the German nation. The aim of our policy is a united Germany. A GDR government led by Social Democrats will take the necessary steps along the path to German unity in coordination with the government of the Federal Republic. What can be done without delay should be done." Here it was stressed that steps toward such unity will be taken with the approval of all neighboring countries, whose borders are inviolable.

This appeal is opposed with equal vigor by the slogan that is put forward calling for the preservation of the GDR's autonomy and opposing the sale of the GDR. At Saturday's founding congress of the new "Carnations" party, which calls for a socialist path of development in the conditions of total renewal, the need to preserve a sovereign GDR was stressed. The confrontation between supporters and opponents of unification is intensifying.

The Volkskammer session, which reflected the heated political atmosphere in the republic, has ended. Hans Modrow, head of the coalition government, won a confidence vote, but was forced to compromise. A service to protect the constitution, to replace the disbanded national security department, will not be set up before 6 May, that is, before the general elections. Reports of the "disarming" of the department—the handover of its weapons and ammunition to the people's police—are coming in from various GDR cities. The transfer of SED-PDS property to the people's ownership continues. The party presidium has proposed to the board that 16 of the 21 newspaper publications and 21 of the 26 printing plants be given up. The number of party leisure homes and boarding houses is being reduced by more than half.

Passions are becoming more heated. It has already been reported that the crowd that gathered in front of the Volkskammer building during its session tore up GDR state flags. Guenther Maleuda, speaker of the Volkskammer, came out sharply against violence in any form. Statesmen and newspapers are calling for self-possession and restraint; the political maturity gained in recent months in the course of the heated political struggle must not be lost. It is necessary at any price to avoid chaos, which is harmful to virtually everyone. It benefits only the group of right-wing extremists who seek with all their might to destabilize the political situation in the GDR. Incidentally, on its Sunday news program West German television reported that at the congress of the neofascist Republican Party taking place in the West German city of Rosenheim, it was stated that at the end of this month or early next month a "party union of republicans" will be formed on GDR territory. It is supposedly to put forward candidates for the 6 May general elections. Some 70 "honored guests" from the GDR were present at the Rosenheim congress.

Today, on Monday, the "roundtable" involving representatives of virtually all parties and social organizations and the church is meeting again in Berlin. The day

before, Hans Modrow stated that he seeks closer cooperation with the participants in this democratic forum. The government is expected to submit to the "roundtable" a list of specific proposals for cooperation. On Saturday government spokesman Wolfgang Meier met with foreign and local journalists. He said that the Council of Ministers sees no obstacle to the opposition's sharing the government's responsibility for the adoption of various decisions. Hans Modrow will participate in the "roundtable" session, which, according to the head of government, will be of "strategic significance."

The traditional street march took place in Berlin to mark the 71st anniversary of the death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, with the participation of hundreds of thousands of people. Naturally, there were nontraditional slogans: "Peace and freedom!", "United front against the threat from the right and equality of opportunity for all who take part in the process of renewal of the GDR!"

Lukyanov Receives New Hungarian Ambassador

LD1701151290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Hungarian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Sandor Gyorke handed his credentials to Comrade Lukyanov in the Kremlin today. In recent decades, the ambassador said, Hungarian-Soviet relations have achieved a significant level, have brought quite a lot of results, and have created lasting values. We will continue to strive to preserve them, while multiplying and developing them.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Lukyanov emphasized that the perestroyka taking place in the Soviet Union is indissolubly linked with the new political thinking in the international sphere which is based on a realistic and objective view of the comtemporary world. It was noted that the Soviet Union will continue to carry out the course for strengthening security and cooperation throughout the world, which meets the interests of its allies and of the world community.

After the handing in of credentials, there was a friendly and cordial conversation between comrades Lukyanov and Gyorke.

More on Meeting

LD1701204290 Budapest MTI in English 1823 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, January 17 (MTI)—It is a fundamental national interest of the Republic of Hungary to maintain, on the basis of confidence, balanced and reciprocally advantageous relations with the Soviet Union, Sandor Gyorke, Hungary's new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, said on the occasion that he presented his credentials to Andrey Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU CC [Central Committee] PC [expansion unknown] and first deputy president of the Supreme Soviet, in the Kremlin on Thursday.

We seek to preserve and foster the time-tested values of decades-long cooperation, Mr Gyorke said. We are confident that our countries' endeavours for the renewal of social development create more favourable and more stable conditions so that the East European changes of historic significance be integrated into our relations and all spheres of our cooperation, Mr Gyorke said. It is an important element of the further development of relations that all sober and well-intentioned political forces of our countries be involved in it, the Hungarian ambassador said.

The Soviet perestroyka is inseparable from the new way of foreign policy thinking. Starting from this, the Soviet Union follows with attention the stormy processes taking place in the East European countries, Mr Lukyanov said. In our relations maintained with the East European states, we consistently strive for respecting the principles of sovereignty, non-interference and free elections. The Soviet Union holds that all peoples have a right to determine their own fate, including their social order, and the road and pace of their development.

Preserving the experience gained over many years, we take a stand for renewing our bilateral relations, in compliance with contemporary realities, the Soviet politician said.

After the official ceremony, the two politicians held friendly, informal talks. According to the Moscow office of MTI, they agreed that emphasis should be laid on inter party and inter-governmental relations. Concerning the Hungarian minority living in the Soviet Union, Mr Lukyanov stressed the Soviet Union was prepared to comprehensive cooperation in this field, in the spirit of humanism and democratic changes.

Hungarian Election Campaign, Preparations Examined

LD1501044690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Preparations are underway for elections to the Hungarian state assembly. Our correspondent, Yevgeniy Shirokov, reports from Budapest:

[Shirokov] Pre-election struggle: This combination of words is entering Hungary's political vocabulary for the first time in many decades. The multiparty system, which is acquiring increasingly real features, presupposes a keen rivalry of various forces, parties, and social movements in the election campaign.

At present, the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] has declared its participation in this struggle. The party has issued a leaflet entitled: What Does the HSP Want? The party declares its main task to be the construction of democratic socialism, and of a free, independent, and law-governed state.

The HSP has set up a permament election activity headquarters, and the first of many planned meetings by the party presidium with members of the public and journalists has taken place. I attended this meeting, and came away with the following conclusion, above all: the Socialist Party, which has become the scion of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and currently faces many organizational problems, today definitely rejects any internal struggle on the road toward the elections, the struggle of platforms, so that it will arrive at 25 March as a single, united force.

In every area of the country, several candidates will be nominated as parliamentary deputies from among those HSP members who have maned to win the confidence and liking of the local population. The socialists are counting on cooperation with all the left-wing forces, whatever parties they may belong to. Western journalists questioned the members of the Socialist Party's leading organ particularly persistently on their attitude to the scandalous affair brought up by two groupings—the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats—relating to the fact that the Ministry of Internal Affairs allegedly went in for eavesdropping on telephone conversations by opposition party activists. The minister, Istvan Horvath, is a member of the HSP. Without going into the details of this affair, which awaits final investigation, I will underline only that in the current election campaign, the opposition forces may resort to any method or means in their aspiration to squeeze out their rivals, those same socialists. One must be thoroughly prepared for this.

Socialists Step Up Campaign

PM1801092790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Run-Up to Elections"]

[Text] Budapest, 15 Jan—The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is stepping up its election campaign. There are now more than 50,000 MSZP members.

Specialists believe that the elections will cost 200 million forints (approximately R10 million), which is not yet available. Hungary's other democratic parties also have no large funds to buy propaganda literature and leaflets or to organize TV programs. This will complicate the campaign.

"Our interests require that democratic forces are successful," I. Pozsgay, MSZP candidate for Hungarian president and member of the MSZP Presidium, stated. "We believe that without a significant MSZP success in the elections there is no chance of the country developing democratically."

The MSZP Board has adopted an election declaration stressing that Hungarian Socialists have largely promoted the peaceful creation of a democratic rule-of-law state—which the Hungarian public has dreamed of for a century and a half. The MSZP, as a party of progress and the defense and protection of the masses' interests, is counting on the support of the broad strata of the population.

We want to create a modern Hungary by specifically Hungarian means, the declaration states. Legality, a market economy, social protection—that is our program for democratic change. After the election the MSZP considers it necessary to form a coalition government that is national in nature.

Hungarian Party Surveillance 'Scandal' Described

PM1601120190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov report: "Who Is Eavesdropping on Whom?"]

[Text] Budapest—Representatives of two radical Hungarian opposition parties—the Union of Young Democrats and the Union of Free Democrats—have published top-secret documents of the so-called State Security Authority, which is part of Hungary's Interior Ministry.

As the opposition party representatives stated, it turns out that the secret service is involved in phone-tapping and in the surveillance of opposition parties, organizations, and members in spite of the fact that Interior Ministry officials have repeatedly given placatory assurances.

Following this, the documents at the opposition's disposal were handed over for examination by the country's chief military prosecutor, and the Union of Young Democrats and Union of Free Democrats demanded that Council of Ministers Chairman M. Nemeth conduct an investigation into this matter and relieve I. Horvath of his duties as interior minister. M. Nemeth himself refused to acknowledge that he had broken the law and gave orders for an immediate investigation. The first result of the enquiry was confirmation by the prosecutor of the authenticity of the documents presented by the opposition.

It should be said that virtually all the country's political parties clearly condemned the illegal actions. But attempts by the Union of Young Democrats and Union of Free Democrats to blame the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], on the supposed evidence that there was no information about MSZP activity in the secret documents, met with a most resolute rebuff from the MSZP. I. Pozsgay, member of the MSZP Presidium, stated frankly that the attempts to cast a shadow on the MSZP were nothing more than electioneering.

From spring 1989 direct party leadership of Interior Ministry and hence of State Security activity by the then Hungarian Socialist Workers Party was abolished. And since that time these organs have been actively depoliticized. According to head of government M. Nemeth's statement, a draft law on the activity of the state security

service, which to a significant degree would remove the possibility of such scandals being repeated, could be presented for examination at the next State Assembly session.

More on Hungarian Protests Against Price Hikes

PM1701154990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Rallies and Protests"]

[Text] Budapest, 16 Jan—The latest price rise has led to an increase in social tension. In certain cities in the country protest rallies have been held opposing the removal of subsidies on foodstuffs and apartment rents. A public transport stoppage is threatened: Drivers are demanding wage increases and a reduction in overtime. Several hundred people gathered outside the parliament building in the capital. Among the banners were some "incidental" leaflets stating "Russians Go Home!"

The demonstration was organized by the dramatist and writer Istvan Churka [surname as transliterated], a member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum Board.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum dissociated itself from this event organized by its member.

One of the reasons for the deterioration in the situation is the fact that certain parties are not explaining or defending the measures which the government and parliament have been forced to take to stabilize the economy. On the contrary, they are trying to use this deterioration to improve their chances at the coming elections.

Polish President Cited on Germany, Warsaw Pact

PM1601121390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jan 90 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Interview with W. Jaruzelski"]

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Jan—Perestroyka in the Soviet Union is of great importance for ensuring peace throughout the world. The success of the reforms being implemented in Poland is also closely linked with the future of perestroyka. Polish President W. Jaruzelski said this in an interview with SANKEI SHIMBUN published today.

The Warsaw Pact, he stressed, plays a great role in ensuring peace and stability in Europe. However, in itself the existence of two blocs on the European continent is abnormal. Until the policy of building a common European home is clearly manifest, the Warsaw Pact will guarantee the security of Poland, which has no intention of leaving that organization.

Broaching the possibility of the two German states' unification, W. Jaruzelski pointed out that Poland has no intention of impeding it. However, this question is a very delicate one for Poland and must be considered within the context of common European interests.

Voicing his opinion of the activity of T. Mazowiecki's government, the president indicated that it is carrying out very bold economic reforms, but that they are accompanied by extremely complex problems which are temporarily making Poles' lives worse. However, Poland does not intend to deviate from the reform path, W. Jaruzelski said.

Polish Economic, Political Situation Viewed

PM1701150190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by own correspondent L. Toporkov: "Poland: Eagle Puts on the Crown"]

[Text] Warsaw—Poland is learning anew, is undergoing an accelerated course of political education and the psychological adaptation that accompanies it. Its new leaders are becoming convinced of how difficult it is to assert their philosophy based on values different from those so far officially acknowledged and to restructure the nature of people who received an education in the doctrines of state socialism. It has become good form to curse socialism, but how to remove the spirit of the former way of life if it is corrosively instilled in many people?

People who have grown up in Poland, which until 1 January 1990 was called the People's Poland and which has now been deprived of that epithet, understood that although their liberties were restricted the state bore the lion's share of responsibility for their meagerly provided existence and would not abandon them to misfortune. An awareness that the state was exercising all-embracing tutelage over them gradually undermined their initiative and desire to act independently, to think something through and improve it. "Let the bosses have the headaches, let the state worry about it..."

As a result the creative potential of society was used far from fully. The system made man unaccustomed to working at full strength, although there was no shortage of appeals to increase labor productivity. But these appeals had little effect because they were merely propagandist and contained no motivation. The gulf between word and deed was constantly expanding. We know where it led.

Now everything is the other way round: Citizens are expected to display independence, enterprise, and the desire to take matters into their own hands and to be the forgers of their own happiness, as they say. But they are in no hurry to abandon their accustomed life style and mode of conduct. The results of a recent sociological study are striking. Despite the fact that the state's role has changed resolutely, 80% of citizens still believe that it is its duty to provide every family with an apartment, that schools should be free (70 percent) as should health care (60%) while over half are convinced that the state must provide a person with work in accordance with his qualifications.

Politicians and journalists are writing about all this now, considering the problem of why the stereotype of the average Pole's thinking is changing so slowly. After all, formerly the state did everything for him: Now too, people are saying, the state should extend its paternal wing over them. But the snag is that everything was provided at a very modest level. But the country must rise above this level and join the ranks of the highly developed countries. It is impossible to move the economy forward with the former incentives, yet time is needed to learn to work in the new way. There are social and psychological deformations.

The newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY writes: "The state is changing the system for satisfying citizens' needs. Instead of encompassing everyone with its all-around tutelage, it is only the very poorest that it is not abandoning. Let the others cope for themselves. For the republic's citizens this is such a new situation that they feel lost. The present passiveness is nothing other than the manifestation of their social self-defense."

The philosophy of state socialism has now been rejected by the party itself as lifeless and delaying social and economic progress. But what is, is. "We have raised a breed of mice who do not believe in the cat's existence." That was how J. Kuron, minister of labor and social policy, figuratively put it at a meeting with Lodz textile workers. The minister had in mind the fact that people working at state enterprises and accustomed to the state preventing their bankruptcy and shelling out for subsidies must now rely only on themselves and on their ability to work in such a way as to obtain a profit.

The "Balcerowicz plan" which caused a lot of noise and includes a program of privatization has met with a mixed reception in society. It frightens some people educated in the former dogmas because, they say, it is nothing but a return to capitalism, but in others it instills hope of fundamental transformations in the economy. Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the council of ministers and minister of finances in T. Mazowiecki's government, is a young, vigorous economist convinced that he is right. He is not embarrassed by critical attacks from either the left or the right. So far it is hard to judge whether his program for the national economy's recovery adopted by the sejm is successful or not—time will tell. It can only be said most definitely that it has already reminded the "mice" of the "cat's" existence.

Based on shock therapy for the economy and its main scourge—superinflation—it has ruled out state subsidies for enterprises. Either these enterprises find within themselves the strength to keep afloat, or they will go bankrupt. An important part of the program is the elimination of existing forms of administrative control over prices. Wages will not be allowed to grow at the same rate as prices. Moreover, the growth of prices must outstrip the growth of wages.

And from the start of the new year another wave of increases in the cost of living has lashed the country. Payment for electricity, gas, central heating, and hot water has increased 400%, payment for fuel, urban transport, and communications services has increased 100%, while the price of coal has increased 600%. L. Balcerowicz seems to have been prescient. Many people will undoubtedly limit their consumption. They have even begun to buy less bread. It has increased in price by a further 500 zloty...

Is there confidence that the government program will have the effect on which they are counting? How will it be endured by those who live only on their wages? Is this not the latest experiment in "leaping into the unknown?" It is here that debates are being sparked. Not everyone wants to be guinea pigs (mice). People have become tired of being anxious for the future. The trade unions were the first to protest. "We disagree with the policy of belt tightening, with sacrifices only from working people, with the policy of abolishing our social gains, hiking prices, and selling nationwide assets into other people's hands. We cannot pursue a policy whose result will be unemployment and a decline in production."

Will people heed this voice? The country's present ruling circles are proceeding resolutely along their chosen path and are displaying impatience in implementing their intentions. At any rate, they want to rid themselves as rapidly as possible of everything that symbolizes the Polish People's Republic. The amendments to the Constitution adopted by the Sejm have crossed out at a stroke everything connected with the concept of the "People's Poland." The "coronation," that is, the expected return of the crown to the eagle on the country's coat of arms, is not simply the formal covering of its "bald spot" but, in the opinion of the victors, a change of social system.

The newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU stresses with anxiety that "the main center of right-wing radicalism" has formed among the senators and a substantial section of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. It expresses perplexity over the stance of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] deputies' club, which has supported the aspirations of this "center." Against the background which has taken shape, the newspaper writes, the meeting just before the New Year between L. Walesa, leader of the "Solidarity" trade union, and PZPR Central Committee First Secretary M. Rakowski, who expressed concern at some trends accompanying the processes of the democratization of economic reforms in Poland, was an event of enormous importance. They said that Poland needs two moderate and responsible political trends which will not veer sharply right or left. "We always need two feet," L. Walesa said. "Equilibrium is necessary in every society. And we must begin to create it."

Constructive cooperation between two political forces—that is the only thing which can unite society and lead to compromises and not confrontation. That was the spirit of the meeting. In the same issue TRYBUNA LUDU sharply criticized M. Orzechowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PZPR

deputies' club in the Sejm. Because the impression is formed that rapprochement has emerged along two lines: on the one hand the PZPR deputies club and the Citizens' Parliamentary Club and on the other the leadership of the "Solidarity" trade union and the PZPR Central Committee. An interesting new situation thus emerges in the placement of political forces and in the understanding of the development of democratic processes.

Yes, there is no longer the former unity and discipline either in the present ruling camp or in the party or among the left-wing forces in general. The conflict between the aloof and separate PZPR parliamentary club and the PZPR Central Committee about which TRYBUNA LUDU writes is dangerous to the party approaching its 11th congress. The last in the history of the PZPR and the first in the history of the party of democratic socialism which is soon to be born and which may become the expresser of the working people's interests. A split before or during the congress would lead to the point where hardly anyone would take any account of a weakened and possibly broken party.. That would be pernicious for all society but most of all for the working people.

Romanians Handed Draft To Simplify Border Contact

PM1701144590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under the general heading "Border Contacts Simplified"]

[Text] During the meeting in Bucharest at the beginning of this month between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and S. Celac, Romanian foreign minister, an accord was reached to simplify reciprocal visits and border exchange by Soviet and Romanian citizens.

In the light of those accords, the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest is handing to the Romanian side the draft of a new agreement on conditions for reciprocal visits by the two countries' citizens. The draft reflects the fundamentally new approach to the procedure for authorizing such trips. Now when they are made invitations and other documents confirming the purpose of the visit will no longer be needed. As before, visits will be made without a visa.

To improve the consular service for citizens, the question of opening extra consular establishments on the two countries' territory is being exmained.

A package of measures is being implemented to simplify border exchanges. Conditions are being created to ensure the fuller implementation of the Soviet-Romanian agreement on the simplified crossing of the border. With the participation of local organs in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic work has begun to equip centers for the simplified crossing of the border.

Romanian Social Democratic Party Registered

PM1701152390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "New Party Set Up"]

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Jan—"The party of all Romanians, irrespective of their race, sex, religion, and nationality"—those words are included in the first paragraph of the program of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, which was registered 15 January by the Bucharest Municipality Court in accordance with the National Salvation Front Council decree.

The program, published today in the newspaper ALEVERUL [name as transliterated], states that the party proposes wholly abolishing the legislative system created under the Ceausescu dictatorship, establishing the right to strike as a political means of reflecting the position of working people, and setting up mixed economic enterprises.

The Romanian Social Democratic Party advocates participation in the international socialist movement and the inclusion of its representative on the National Salvation Front Council.

Romanians Reflecting After Revolutionary 'Haste'

PM1601103590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Vedrashko dispatch: "Difficult Winter in Bucharest"]

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Jan—Three weeks have gone by since the most dramatic events of the Romanian revolution. Three whole weeks...

It is already possible to look back and try to understand why there has been so much haste during these days.

Many people are expressing dissatisfaction that the sentence on the dictator was carried out in a hurry. It was officially stated that the emergency tribunal was guided by considerations of a military nature. It was believed that the dictator's death would break the desperate resistance of the forces loyal to him. And that is what happened.

Some Romanian politicians and journalists now believe that they were too hasty in revealing the figure for the casualties of the regime as over 60,000. Current official estimates now put the death toll lower, at around 10,000.

People determined to profit from the revolution were also in a hurry: They started opening up and occupying apartments in empty blocks (there were thousands of such apartments, waiting for "special" distribution, in Bucharest alone). This is all the more unfortunate, given the huge number of people in need of proper housing already, with 500 families in the Romanian capital left without a roof over their heads as a result of the armed clashes.

The time has come when the fever of the initial period is starting to be replaced by appeals to follow reason: There is no need to rush now. After all, it is not enough just to remove the restrictions and repeal the old, inhuman decrees. That is very important, but it is only the first step.

In the shops of the "Autobuzul" plant in Bucharest it is almost as cold as in the street. We understand that the whole country finds it difficult now, say the wo. ers. But the government must outline the priorities in its economic policy. We are producing buses and trolleybuses that are now indispensable: The fleet of transport vehicles was seriously depleted during the street fighting. But if the normalization of transport operations is an urgent task, that means that enterprises like ours must be provided with materials and electricity.

Alarming reports are coming in from the power stations. For example, the necessary quantity of coal is not being delivered to the "Zaleu" heat and electric power station. The old maladies which disorganized the whole national economy complex in recent years, when not a single sector was working normally, are being felt.

The foundations for moving forward are being laid in various strata of society. Politicians are worried about the upcoming elections. The National Salvation Front leadership has stated that the front is not a political party and will take part in the elections as a front. This is what Romulus Mayer, an engineer from a Bucharest enterprise that produces controlling and measuring appliances and equipment and a member of the National Salvation Front plant council, told me:

"A few days ago an emergency session of the National Salvation Front council at the enterprise was held. Candidacies for the posts of plant leaders were examined. The result was that there were 11 contenders for the 5 posts. Our proposals have already been submitted for discussion by the whole collective.

...Today has been declared a day of mourning for the country. From daybreak thousands of Bucharest inhabitants have been coming out onto the city's squares and streets to honor the memory of those who died during the recent December events. "Death to the Terrorists!", "Freedom!", "We are the People", the crowd chanted. The people on the squares, of course, are prey to emotion, and the unfavorable, negative factor prevails. There are practically no constructive or consolidating slogans, and the overwhelming majority of the appeals are still of a destructive nature.

At midday on Palace Square the National Salvation Front leaders laid wreaths in the presence of a vast gathering of people. The rallies and demonstrations continued. The death knell tolled over Bucharest.

Concern Over Danger to National Salvation Front

PM1701120490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Volodin report: "Who Benefits?"]

[Text] Bucharest—The Romanian public is very concerned at the attempt made in Victoria (Victory) Square in the evening of 12 January by certain forces to test the strength of the National Salvation Front (see IZVESTIYA No 14). Certain people were trying to swing the pendulum of hatred and use it to strike, if not bring down, the National Salvation Front leadership and the provisional government of Romania.

People here received very dubiously the decrees that were adopted in haste and patently under pressure, in particular those on outlawing the Romanian Communist Party and on holding a referendum on the restoration of the recently abolished death penalty in the country for those guilty of crimes against the people. After the events of 12 January attention was focused on a man whose resolute appeals to the crowd from a tank whipped up the heat of passions to the point of explosion. He is D. Mazilu, first deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front council.

"Who are you really, Mr Mazilu?" the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA asked the next morning, demanding his immediate removal from the Front's council. In a brief biographical note the newspaper lists the posts held by the first deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front council in the dictatorship's apparatus of power: director of the Securitate officers' school in Baneasa near Bucharest; chief adviser to the department of state security on questions of intelligence and counterintelligence, influencing the outcome of certain trials.... A number of specific accusations against Mazilu are then listed. As yet it is hard to say definitely what proportion of truth there is in this. This could be done by the official investigation that ROMANIA LIBERA is insisting on. But for the time being many people here are asking what forces would benefit from chaos and anarchy instead of calm and unity—chaos and anarchy on the back of which the demand for an "iron hand" arises, fraught with the danger of the restoration of the dictatorship.

As the December events showed, from the very first days the army went over to the people's side. And in view of the fact that none of the newly formed political parties is yet laying claim to full power, it is clear that the only force with an interest in influencing the course of events in the country in favor of a new dictatorship is the old Securitate cadres.

Judging by newspaper reports, there is no confidence in Romania that all those involved in the former regime's crimes have been exposed. The Securitate men, having taken up arms against the people, suffered defeat in the open struggle. But it is not ruled out that the existing

political instability, the burden of economic problems, the lack of democratic traditions, and to some extent the masses' revolutionary euphoria itself may create a favorable environment for the advocates of an "iron hand" to continue the struggle by other means. Such as those that were tried last Friday in Victory Square.

'Newspeak' Attitude to Ceausescu Commented On

PM1601150790 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 1, 1990 pp 5-7

[Article by Marina Pavlova-Silvanskaya: "The Collapse of the Great Conductor"]

[Text] When I returned home Friday night, asked to write the following commentry, I found in my post box a parcel with the text of Nicolae Ceausescu's two-month-old speech at the extended plenum of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee. As the irony of fate had it, the mails carried the light of Europe's most sinister political star on the very day it faded into nothingness.

Instinctively, I simply couldn't believe those first joyful Soviet TV reports about the happy end of the Bucharest uprising, about the popular jubilation when the chopper carried away the much hated vampire couple from the roof-top of the presidential palace. It all seemed out of joint with a quarter century of snow-balling terror and fear of the ubiquitous Securitate and of human humiliation and helplessness followed by a coup with an operatta flavour. Unfortunately, my premonition was vindicated over and above with the Ceausescu dictatorship culminating in a bloody drama.

I find it hard to put pen to paper. Indeed, how am I to cut this living political texture, if it still sheds the blood of innocent victims. However, one needs to reflect on this nightmare to extract a lesson and guard the living against a repetition of the appalling convulsions with which agonizing neo-Stalinism is pregnant.

In my commentary I contributed a fortnight ago to a previous issue of the magazine, I noted that Eastern Europe's crisis had become universal and open with "the sole exclusion of Romania only confirming the rule!" Today it would be more appropriate to insert a question mark in place of the exclamation point. What does confirming the rule mean? After all, to say that the outburst which took toll of thousands of lives represents the logical outcome of the rule of a marasmatic dictator and his brazen-faced rapine clan would simply be dismissing the problem out of hand.

According to broadcasts, there have been discovered in long-suffering Timisoara mass burials of some four and a half thousand executed people. Their bodies bear traces of brutal torture, the legs were wired together to more easily toss them into trucks and ditches. A reminder, isn't it? Of Kuropaty, of Kanyn, of Vorkuta, of Cambodia. The same familiar hand. Or take the fires erupting where archives are kept. Doesn't that invoke associations with the pillars of smoke rising above security police offices in the GDR and Bulgaria? Doesn't it also invoke association with those black "mushrooms," with those flakes of charred paper that swirled in the skies above the Magadan GULAG offices immediately after the 20th CPSU Congress? Yes, the same familiar totalitarian hand.

As the twentieth century draws to a close, Europeans would dearly believe that violence and force have exited as a means of resolving socio-political and international conflicts in the content. However, the Romanian despot's death agony serves warning against euphoria over the peaceful, bloodless changes in the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. True, a handful of power-lusting politicos in Prague did entertain hazy notions of using force; deafened by dogmatic dicta, they failed to hear the call of the times. For that matter, Honecker even issued a written order to open fire on demonstrators in Leipzig, to which Manfred Gerlach, acting head of the East German state, and Markus Wolf, former secret service chief, have testified. According to some reports, certain Soviet high-ranking army officers stationed in the GDR were directly or indirectly involved in the effort to avert so tragic an outcome. Otherwise wouldn't history have pronounced the same verdict against the seemingly civilized Honecker as against the calibanish dictator Ceausescu?

What do these disenheartening analogies imply? Throughout his rule Ceausescu assiduously distanced himself from the USSR, seeking to emphasize his special role amidst the Warsaw Treaty countries. He sucked up to Romanian national sentiment and adroitly exploited Brezhnev's political blunders. He declined to have a hand in the collective 1968 intervention, and retained diplomatic relations with Israel, which Western politicians applauded. The British Queen hastily knighted him. This notwithstanding, the conductor only more brazenly stifled embryonic opposition. In the shade of the Romanian national tricolour, the shoots of neo-Stalinism took root in a medium fertilized to some extent by Western financial and political support.

The rivers of blood seen in Romania well demonstrated how evil and venomenous these shoots were. No verbal juggling can ever place the sign of equality between the socialist idea and the dead thousands of workers and peasants, in whose name Ceausescu pontificated for a quarter of a century. To defend his rule, the, dictator and his fanatic secret police thugs, concealed in subterranean bunkers, demonstrated to the entire world a truly fascist snarl.

When the moment of truth strikes, we distinctly see who is who. On an ordinary day, though, fascism is very ordinary, even prosaic, which that splendid Soviet film director Mikhail Romm so brilliantly explained to his compatriots some thirty years ago. Yet the streets and thoroughfares of Bucharest likewise lulled many a conscience in Europe by their spurious liveliness and the

threadbear relics of erstwhile elegance. More or less decent reasons were dug up to explain the meagre shopwindow displays and the long lines. At any rate, they were long tolerated. However, there bled thhrough the snouts of tommyguns and tanks the movent the dictator felt menaced.

Many are psychologically unable to admit that the Ceausescu regime had erected fearful "bridges" between neo-Stalinism and facism, "bridges," which in recent times the whole world has been able to see with the naked eye. Many are psychologically unable to draw all the ensuing conclusions. Long, long ago diehard advocates of the Ptolemaic system were likewise unable to look at the solar system through the eyes of Copernicus. Though street fighting raged in Romania, in the Kremlin Palace, men, whose personal honesty is beyond doubt, doggedly refused to admit that our own Soviet dictator had erected similar "bridges" half a century ago, when he had signed that ignominous secret protocol. The demise of the totalitarian past, proceeding simulataneously on two historical planes, as indeed symbolical.

Eastern Europe has already burned those potential "bridges". The changes that have occurred in this part of the continent over the outgoing year only bear that out. In the eyes of the Warsaw Treaty countries, Romania's fratricidal protuberance is seen merely as a blood-curdling phantom of the end, to which the old course may have led by acknowledging the immoral character of the prewar Stalin-Hitler complot, by denouncing the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan and the use of force in Tbilisi, the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR has steered Soviet society further and further away from that course, hopefully once and for all.

Armies represent a possible source of force in the societies of Eastern Europe. Over recent months they were faced with a political choice. However, nowhere did they stain their honour. In Czechoslovakia, with its democratic parliamentary traditions, the army never manifested political ambitions. Nor was that to be observed in Hungary. In both countries they speedily depoliticalized. In Poland, after the "phoney martial situation," General Jarzuelsi undertook to guarantee a peaceful changeover. No matter to whomsoever Honecker had addressed his criminal order, the important thing is that in the upshot the GDR's army also adopted a civilized stance. In Romania, after some vacillation, the army also sided with the insurgent nation: no wonder Ceausescu never relied on it. The speeches with which representatives of the Soviet officer corps addressed the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR demonstrated more distinctly than before that proceeding within the Soviet army is a strenuous effort to comprehend the changes occurring within the world and develop the appropriate ethical response.

With the exception of Romania, in no other country did the secret police or the troops of the interior ministries take punitive action. Of course, this process, which was hidden from the public eye also had its own dramatic episodes. Thus, some security policemen in the GDR suicided or tried to do away with compromising files and conceal available finances. No wonder Milos Jakes and Miroslav Stepan sought support, incidentally to no purpose, not from the Interior Ministry, but from the workers' militia, those paramilitary formations directly subordinate to the Communist Party.

The contradictions between the Soviet Union and the Romanian dictator, though of long standing, were assiduously hidden from the eye of the Soviet public. As far as the previous Soviet leaders were concerned, the official declarations of a common ideology had quite a large grain of truth. The earlier Soviet rulers were linked to Ceausescu, then not so disgracefully compromised, by one common crude vision of the world, one common life-style and rule, one common claptrap. After all, one needs but delete the Romanian realia from the dictator's outpourings to have a Suslov speech.

When creating pretences of the full political solidarity of the Warsaw Treaty states, our propaganda bigwigs sought to limn the optimistic picture that the authoritarian type of socialism was supposedly steadily advancing towards worldwide victory and, as the definitive force of today, paved the way for the course of history. The sole purpose was to instil in minds the need for sacrifice in the fulfilment of a Messianic mission. Ceausescu also craved international recognition, the more strongly, the more manifest his isolation. I remember having been in Bucharest, when the conductor was in North Korea. Romanian television's one and only programme, broadcast but a mere three hours daily, showed nothing but Ceausescu's delighted countenance amidst hundreds of Korean dancing beauties garbed in festive national costumes. However he found this inadequate. Adoration had to be boundless, for which reason toadies composed for his jubilee, for instance, a cable of fulsome flattery from the British Queen. A nice tidbit, certainly! However, such mythologization persists for a time only within a closed society. When Soviet society opened up, the old times passed away for good.

However, when the lying neo-Stalinist idyll cracked apart, Ceausescu roared in rage. He voluntarily donned the mitre of the headpriest of shopsoiled dicta. He sought to knock together an international league of "the orphans of perestroika," in short of all prepared in their own interests to unhesitatingly crush students and kill children. He put foreign terrorists through their paces and assumed a pugnacious stance in harangues and interviews. He pontificated. But Soviet mass media kept mum. Could it be because the conductor's arguements were so familiar? Here is an excerpt from the speech I received in the mail: "I think it well appropriate to recall the question the socialist Bebel put himself in the 19th century when Bismarck was in power. This was 'Where have you blundered, poor Bebel, if you find reaction praising you?' there are some who must ask of themselves not only there they have blundered, but also what type of socialism they seek to build, a socialism that the imperialist circles extol and want to subsidize? This was

followed by a tirade in defence of state property and against a market economy. How familiar this claptrap is! However, now we at least have fully seen for ourselves what sort of socialism Ceausescu planned to build.

He set out his cast-iron creed again at the recent Warsaw Treaty summit. What were we told about it? Only six paragraphs of a TASS dispatch addressed to all crafty enough to read in between the lines and still willing to indulge in that boring task. Ceausescu's political paranoia was habitually muted. Why so?

Since 1958 neither the USSR, nor the CPSU have shouldered the slightest political or moral responsibility for events in Romania. So why was Soviet information policy so long slave to empire protocol? After all, it only redounded to our discredit. Of what use was the dispatch of an official delegation at the last Romanian Communist Party Congress? After all, the CPSU was represented by quite an impressive delegation! Indeed, the Italian Communists and the Hungarians' refused to have any part in this disgraceful show. What did we hope for? That by maintaining pretences of normal relations with Ceausescu, we would still be able to influence him at a critical moment? It certainly wasn't that! On the other hand, we let slip the opportunity of promptly sending an important political sign to the Romanian people and to the entire world, for that matter, which nobody could have taken as intervention to the affairs of others.

From all this we must extract the most decisive lesson. The unwritten protocol in relations with East European countries that emerged since the end of the war, is definitely anachronistic and increasingly clogs amicable relations with our neighbours. True, it's a good thing that we no longer see hugs and kisses at the foot of an airplane gangway. But who on earth needs the ridiculous pinning of orders on one another? Or, for instance, the absurd custom of publishing ritual commentaries with accounts of glowing successes on the eve of each new Communist Party congress in an allied country. How shameful in the light of the current bloodbath is the dispatch from the recent "forum of the Romanian Communists" as it was so eloquently described. It is harder to note what is missed than included. It took note of the imperative significance of problems concerning the intensification of production and of the unprecedented high yields of barley in such and such a place. Of course, when we examined these dispatches under a microscope we may discover something in small print. Isn't it high time to put paid to this half-dead "newspeak" with its utterly unwanted protocol and senseless nomenklatura kowtowing.

It is especially important to discard the straitjacket of obsolescent protocol nowadays when new relations are emerging between countries and between the politicians of Eastern Europe. Arising are "untraditional" institutions, with no analogy as yet in our own political structure. Nonetheless the absence of precedent should not take us aback.

To tell the truth, such innovative de-mythologized relations in central and Eastern Europe, shorn of the tangle of unnecessary convention, would toll the best "requiem" to the Romanian dictator.

West Europe

Soviet Envoy Calls for Sober Thinking in Germany

LD1701112690 Hamburg DPA in German 1004 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Koblenz (DPA)—According to the Soviet ambassador in Bonn, Yuliy Kvitsinksiy, the current situation of the two German states demands level-headedness, a sense of proportion, and sober thinking as never before. At an event held by the Bundeswehr Command Center yesteday evening in Koblenz, the ambassador spoke about the question of reunification, and said that calls for an "immediate implementation" would not solve any problems but would create many more difficulties. The negotiations between the two German states must take an ordered course and must be characterized on both sides by the greatest responsibility.

Any new government that comes to power in the GDR after the election on 6 May is tied to treaty obligations entered into earlier. International legal positions and interests cannot be ignored. The GDR is a member of the Warsaw Pact. Treaty ties to the wartime and postwar obligations of the allies must be observed. Incidentally, no treaty exists which excludes the possibility of reunification and none which prescribes it, Kvitsinskiy said. Even the Potsdam agreement does not do so. It only establishes the economic unity of Germany. The relations between the two German states must be fully embedded in overall European developments.

NATO Secretary Remarks on Unified Germany

LD1701180290 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov:

Making forecasts about the future of Germany, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner said in an interview with the West German newspaper BILD that he can visualise collective structures of security in Europe, in the framework of which a unified Germany will enter the North Atlantic Alliance.

The NATO secretary-general has a vivid imagination. But this is not the limit. One might predict that the United States and other NATO countries, including the FRG, will quit NATO and apply for membership in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

Or else, Mr. Woerner could make an even more sensational prediction in the press, about the inclusion of the United Nations into NATO.

But since Woerner is not a futurologist but a political leader of the North Atlantic Alliance, the question arises as to the purpose of his deliberations on the future of the German Democratic Republic. In any case they can hardly promote the improvement of relations between the two German states or the stabilisation in Europe.

Chamber of Commerce Head on EC Cooperation

LD1501221590 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 15 Jan 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The year 1990 will see the implementation of the agreement on commercial and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European Community signed in Brussels last December, said Vladislav Malkevich, president of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

In a TASS interview today, he said that this document is the largest commercial agreement ever concluded by the USSR. It regulates economic ties with all 12 EC member-countries.

There are certain achievements in the area. Joint ventures with industrialised capitalist countries registered by the USSR Ministry of finance include some 500 joint enterprises formed with enterprises and companies from EC countries.

"We hope for more decisive changes. Most joint ventures that have already been formed are small or medium-sized and cannot make a decisive contribution to the economic development," Malkevich said.

He said the agreement rids the Soviet Union of the label "a state trading country", which had been widely used—as a pretext for various discriminatory measures against the USSR. Opportunities for integration into the world economy have widened and conditions for real rapprochement with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) have been created.

Regarding the role of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in implementing the provisions of the agreement, Malkevich said that entrepreneurs be [as received] in touch with Soviet consumers. He said the lack of such ties leads to the delivery of unnecessary and substandard goods and hampers the development of trade, to say nothing of more profound ties in production.

Some steps have already been made to establish such ties. Departments in the Chamber of Commerce issue more than 30 publications. A new journal "BUSINESS TIES" will be released starting in January.

It will appear in English, German, Spanish, French and Russian, and will contain information about potential partners in the Soviet Union and abroad.

The Chamber of commerce and Industry is striving to create a data bank and retrieval network that would make it possible to exchange information with partners in the EC about the state of the market and existing offers.

Estonia's Vyalyas Meets Finnish Communist Leader

LD1701174690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0000 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Helsinki 17 Jan (TASS)—V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who is in Finland at the invitation of the "Paasikivi Society", has had a meeting with the general secretary of the Communist Party of Finland (Unity) Central Commitiee, Yrjoe Hakanen. During the conversation Vyalyas talked abnout the progress of perestroyka in Estonia and about the situation in the Communist Party of Estonia. Hakanen remarked that the attitude of people throughout the world to the renewal of socialism would be greatly influenced by the success of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, and wished the Estonian communists success in resolving political, social and interethnic problems.

The Communist Party of Finland (Unity) representatives proposed expanding cooperation between local party organizations of the Communist Party of Finland (Unity) and the Communist Party of Estonia in preserving the Baltic Sea, and with this aim proposed sending ecology specialists to Tallinn in the very near future.

Soviet Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Finland B.I. Aristov took part in the meeting.

Lukyanov Receives New Ireland, Iceland Envoys

LD1701212990 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Irish Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Patrick McCabe presented his credentials to First Vice President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov in the Kremlin today.

The ambassador said that relations between Ireland and the Soviet Union are marked by strengthening cooperation.

He emphasised the need for an early and large-scale cuts in nuclear and conventional arms in order to create a world free from nuclear menace.

The ambassador noted the importance of the contribution of all countries, participants in the European process, to the maintenance and consolidation of stability and further development of cooperation in Europe.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the Presidium and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Lukyanov emphasized that present-day history of Soviet-Irish relations, enriched by the summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and the Prime Minister Charles Haughey, sets impressive examples of joint efforts of the two countries in the consolidation of the European and world stability.

He expressed confidence that the potential of the Soviet-Irish dialogue relying on new political thinking can be

manifested clearer during major positive changes in East-West relations. It was noted that the Soviet Union and Ireland have similar approaches to the solution of international and regional problems. The intention to develop useful interaction of the two countries in the United Nations was declared.

Iceland's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Olafur Egilsson presented his credentials to Lukyanov today.

The ambassador said it gives special satisfaction to the Icelandic people that just over three years ago the Icelandic capital Reykjavik was chosen as the venue for the Soviet-American summit.

The foundations for the important achievements in disarmament area were then laid down. The Icelandic people will continue to do everything to preserve peace.

Lukyanov emphasized that the Soviet Union is ready to cooperate with Iceland in consolidating peace and security and advancing the European process.

He said that the interaction of the two countries makes considerable contribution to the consolidation of international structures and assertion of new political thinking.

The sides declared for the development of Soviet-Icelandic relations and filling them with new content.

Abalkin Addresses Economic Forum at The Hague

LD1701205290 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Hague January 17 TASS—A conference was held here on the initiative of the International Press Centre Newsport, which discussed prospects of the Soviet Union's pariticiation in world economic relations. It was attended by representatives of the Dutch politicians and a Soviet delegation led by Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers.

Addressing the conference, Abalkin said that such meetings are always useful, especially in periods characterised by dramatic changes. They help understand and appreciated each other better, and find ways to rapprochement. Serious and rather rapid changes are taking place in world economy, he continued. The Soviet Union cannot keep away from these processes. The concept of the development of foreign economic relations features prominently in the government programme of improving national economy approved recently by the congress of People's Deputies.

The radical economic reform increases the Soviet Union's interest in West European experience of economic management. In this respect the Soviet Government is counting on Western assistance. Foreign economic relations of Soviet organisations are not confined to one group of countries or one region. Guided by chosen priorities and principles of mutual benefit, the Soviet Union is ready for the broadest possible cooperatin, Abalkin stressed.

Dutch Prime Minister Rudolph Lubbers who also spoke at the conference dwelt on problems of European security. He stressed the importance of the continuation of the all-European process and the strict observance of principles recorded in the final act of the Helsinki Conference. Lubbers said that the Dutch Government favoured the development of East-West cooperation in economy, science, culture and other spheres. He welcomed positive changes in Soviet-American relations leading to the end of the "cold war" and a radical improvement of the world climate.

During his visit to the Netherlands Abalkin met Lubbers. They discussed the development of Soviet-Dutch relations and multilateral ties in Europe. The Dutch prime minister pointed to profound interest in the success of the Soviet Union's perestroyka and reforms in the socio-economic sphere. They went on record in favour of the development of all-round mutually advantageous cooperation. When discussing the economic situation in Europe, they touched upon the need to expand mutually advantageous contacts of the CMEA, the EEC and the European Free Trade Area (EFTA).

The deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers was received by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands.

Madrid Embassy Official on USSR Political Problems

LD1701145590 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1300 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Interview by telephone with Konstantin Mosel, minister counsellor at the USSR Embassy in Spain, by unidentified announcer on 17 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We had an interview with Konstantin Mosel, minister counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Spain. The events taking place in his country affect everybody. A few minutes before this bulletin began, we spoke with the minister counsellor of the problems the Soviet Union is experiencing and we discussed their causes. We began the interview with: Good afternoon:

[Mosel] Good afternoon.

[Announcer] What information can you give us on the latest situation, on what is happening in the Caucasus?

[Mosel] Unfortunately now there is talk of 56 people dead. There is also something which, in my opinion, is a little more serious in the sense that the evacuation of women and children is taking place from the Baku area, from Baku city, across the Caspian Sea to Turkmenia. That is to say that the violence continues and there are casualties.

[Announcer] Let's analyze some of the things that are happening. Yesterday, a Soviet deputy prime minister warned in Holland that Gorbachev's political survival

depended on solving this year the economic problems in the Soviet Union. At the same time, in Tokyo, the reformist deputy, Yeltsin, said that Gorbachev might not reach the party's congress in October. Are things so bad in your country.

[Mosel] Well, I would say that now we have two fronts on which we are fighting. The first is the nationalities' front, and the second is the economic front. These are two serious problems we have to tackle. Speaking of reform, or the political survival of perestroyka and Gorbachev, who personifies this perestroyka, I think that in life and politics it is said that politics is the art of the possible. We cannot skip the existing stages, and so I think that what we are doing in the economic sphere is logical and consistent. Now, as is known, (?yesterday) Gorbachev spoke of the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which is to meet on 14 February and which will discuss questions of vital importance for our country—that is to say the laws on ownership, especially in the economic sphere. It is a law on ownership, on land, which is very important, and on the budgetary system. If we attain this—I believe these laws are going to be discused and adopted—I think we will have taken a big step foward in perestroyka. I think things are going in a good direction.

[Announcer] We are speaking to Konstantin Mosel, the minister counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Spain. We would like to ask if you don't think it was a mistake to forget about the nationalities when the reforms were begun, and if a solution can be reached with regard to the problem of the Baltic Republics which have opted to attain independence?

[Mosel] Frankly, when we begun this process, we believed that things would go faster and would be easier. But the economy, the social sphere and the nationalities' problems are obviously closely interlinked. And for this reason we have to pay very close attention to all these aspects of perestroyka. We can't say that today we are going to sort out the nationalities' problem and tomorrow we'll tackle the economy. No. They are linked and demand a lot of attention every day from the government, from Gorbachev, and from all of us who support perestroyka.

[Announcr] Is there going to be time to deal with all these questions that you have raised?

[Mosel] Personally, I think that we have the time to work and then we'll see.

[Announcer] Despite all the problems you have described, is Gorbachev's visit to our country in March still on?

[Mosel] For the moment let's say we haven't got any contra-indications. As you know, in January President Gorbachev limited his meetings with foreign representatives because the situation demands that he focuses, above all, on the country's internal problems. In any case we believe that, and we are preparing this visit. We are working with the Spanish representative authorities to prepare the visit.

[Announcer] Mr Mosel, minister counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Spain, thank you very much for replying to our call. Good afternoon.

[Mosel] Thank you very much.

Azerbaijan's Mutalibov Comments on Turkey Visit

NC1601082990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Relations between the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and Turkey are improving. An Azerbaijan SSR delegation led by Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, visited Turkey from 5 to 10 January. The guests were received by President Turgut Ozal and Prime Minister Akbulut and held talks with Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz, Finance and Customs Minister Pakdemirli, Health Minister Sivgin, Industry Minister Yurur, Culture Minister Zeybek, and representatives of Turkey's business circles.

Asked by an AZERINFORM correspondent to explain the results of his visit, Ayaz Mutalibov said: The warm welcome accorded to us wherever we went reconfirms the friendly and fraternal relations between the peoples of Azerbaijan and Turkey. We signed agreements on economic and trade relations and on cultural and scientific relations between the Azerbaijan SSR asnd Turkey. It was noted during the talks that the sides will channel all their efforts toward strengthening their trade, economic, and other relations. Joint establishments will be set up to produce commodities which are in great demand. Meanwhile, cooperation in trade and in construction will be broadened and joint work will be carried out in fields such as oil prospecting, producing, and refining. The construction of the [name indistinct]-Nakhichevan-(?Shusha) highway will increase border trade.

Plans have also been made to hold exhibitions with a view to strengthening relations between the two countries. Relations in tourism will be further broadened. The two sides also agreed that uninterrupted relations will be established between the universities in the Azerbaijan SSR and Turkey, various [words indistinct] books and scientific publications will be exchanged, and collegium meetings will be organized in the Azerbaijan SSR and Turkey on matters related to turcology.

Latin America & Caribbean

Korionov Discusses U.S. Action in Panama

PM1601125190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov article: "Boomerang. Panama: PRAVDA Observer's Opinion"]

[Text] On the second day of the new year *THE NEW YORK TIMES* carried an article entitled "New Decade,

New World, New Strategy." The article's author David Boren begins by reminding his readers: "Unless we show readiness to develop and implement a new U.S. strategy in international politics, we are quite likely to witness a decline in our influence..." And he emphasizes in conclusion: "The way we act in the last decade of this century will largely determine our role in the next century. We must never forget that those who mark time at history's crossroads place themselves at risk."

Boren wrote these lines while U.S. bombs and shells were exploding in the streets of Panama City where, as eyewitnesses reported, "it was difficult to work out where was the firing line and where was the rear." I will not reproduce statements by representatives of progressive U.S. circles who subjected the Administration's actions to the sharpest of criticism. I will limit myself to a statement by S. Turner: "I believe that we are not giving due attention to the risk we are running and the price we will have to pay. In my view, we are jeopardizing our relations with other countries and the incipient easing of tension in our relations with the Soviet Union, and we are jeopardizing our relations with Latin American countries. I think that we are jeopardizing our position in the world as a whole."

Yes, the former leader of the U.S. intelligence department is raising a legitimate question. The intervention was effected by Washington at a time when a profound and positive turnabout was evident in international relations. The new political thinking is creating a climate on the planet which is qualitatively different from before. The world community is increasingly persistent in its desire to build its relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and dignity of nations. It was at that precise moment that the United States invaded Panama in order—as E. Carroll, one of the leaders of the U.S. Center for Defense Information, remarked—to install in power "a pro-American government under which the new U.S. ambassador would act like a Roman consul ruling a colony."

U.S. combat aircraft, artillery, and tanks rained death on Panamanians' peaceful homes only 2 and ½ weeks after the Malta meeting. The peoples perceived this meeting and its results as confirmation that a new positive step had been taken not only in Soviet-U.S. relations but also in the cause of eliminating tension everywhere in the world.

Let us recall: After the Malta meeting ended, the U.S. president declared: "We must do more to curb the violence and suffering that are the lot of so many parts of the globe and to eliminate the common threats to our future." What could be said about these words by the hundreds of Panamanian civilians who died as a result of the U.S. armed invasion? If they could only speak now...

Official circles in Washington are now in a state of euphoria. They claim: "The White House demonstrated strength," "an end has been put to the last remaining vestiges of weakness and indecision." But chauvinist passions cannot stifle the increasingly persistent question: What will be the long-term political consequences of the armed action in Panama?

The world community was virtually unanimous in its condemnation of the U.S. aggression in Panama. The vote at the 44th UN General Assembly session is a vivid, but by no means the sole example of this.

It is not only Panama that has suffered. Shadows are also gathering above other countries. For years the peoples and states in the Central American region, just like the Contadora countries and the Support Group countries, have been trying to find a way out of the critical situation created by the desire of influential U.S. circles to deprive peoples in Central America of the opportunity to become masters of their own future. Washington gave assurances that it would respect the documents which were collectively elaborated by Central American countries for a peaceful political solution to the crisis. But how do its words relate to its deeds?

Elections are due to be held in Nicaragua next month. What if the White House finds their results unsuitable? It was probably no accident that journalists R. Evans and R. Novak, famous for their aggressiveness, reproduced in *THE WASHINGTON POST* some highly significant words by an administration spokesman: By means of its actions in Panama the United States wanted to "make it clear to Ortega that U.S. interests in Central America do not begin and end in Panama." Is it possible to overlook the threats against Havana that issue every now and again from Washington? After all, Cuba—like Nicaragua—is classed by Washington as one of the countries with "undemocratic" regimes.

An indicative statement was made a few days ago by U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney in an interview with CNN-TV. When asked what measures the United States could take to ensure a favorable outcome of the elections in Nicaragua, the Pentagon chief replied vaguely: "Generally speaking, we always keep our options open depending on how the situation develops."

The Latin American continent is living beneath the sign of affirmation of national self-awareness by the peoples living there. The Latin Americans' choice is clear: freedom, democracy, social progress. But do certain circles in the United States really intend to take this choice into account? President Perez of Venezuela was justified in declaring recently that the U.S. intervention in Panama is "a fresh humiliation for Latin American peoples." And the Latin Americans are proud people...

Many people everywhere are now asking themselves: How can you explain the fact that the Washington administration has challenged the world community precisely at this crucial period in the world political situation? Many experts on Washington political machinations assume that it is obviously a matter of a more active stance being taken in Washington by politicians who perversely interpret the course of events in the world, and primarily in East Europe. It appears to them

that "socialism is collapsing," that the USSR's international positions are "weakening." And that these processes will supposedly pave the way toward establishing the United States' supreme dominance in the world.

The champions of this viewpoint express it for everyone to hear. Z. Brzezinski, for example, proclaimed in NEWSWEEK just 1 week prior to the U.S. invasion of Panama: An opportunity is emerging "for the United States to monopolize the status of sole global power." A few days later, speaking at an intercontinental news conference being broadcast specifically to Poland, he proclaimed: The USSR is no longer a superpower, it is no longer a rival of the United States. "This is why," the political scientist revealed, "America could allow itself the intervention in Panama..."

The Soviet Union—especially in our time of perestroyka—is not after "superpower status." We proceed from the premise that, in an interdependent world, all countries and peoples are equal participants in the process of deciding mankind's future. The voices of all countries carry equal weight in the scales of world community politics.

In the last few years, by embarking on a review of its former foreign policy concepts, concluding the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, starting talks with the USSR on a 50% reduction of strategic offensive which promise to be successful, and—finally—proposing the meeting off Malta, Washington took the path recognizing the realities of today's world. Could it be that the mirage of the "collapse of socialism" is threatening to blind some Washington politicians? But mirages tend to disperse. It seems to me that socialism, as a world system, will emerge renewed from the present time of trial. As for the USSR's present international positions, can anyone in his right mind claim that they are weakening? It is with Soviet perestroyka and the new political thinking that all who strive for stability associate their main hopes.

Reports in the last few days indicate that people in the White House seem to be beginning to ponder the consequences of the Panama action. Speaking at a news conference in Washington a few days ago, the president had to admit that the actions in Panama to a certain extent undermined U.S. relations with the Latin Americans. "To a certain degree," the president said, "I am worried." Vice President D. Quayle has been sent to these countries to do some emergency rescue work.

Bush also said the following in the aforementioned statement: "I do not think that this will cause any fundamental damage to our relations with the Soviet Union." Yes, it is in the interests of both countries, in the interests of all states not to damage the cause of international cooperation.

Life is posing this question with utmost demandingness: Either a strategy based on imperial thinking and using "big stick" diplomacy, or a really new strategy, a strategy of realism and reason, based on new thinking and respecting the interests of other peoples and their right to freedom and independence.

Moscow has clearly and certainly made its choice. What about Washington?

Political & Social

All-Union Conference Opens in Moscow 18 Jan

LD1801071890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] At this moment, the work of the All-Union Conference of Representatives of Workers, Peasants, and Engineering and Technical Intelligentsia has begun in the Kremlin. Over 2,000 people are taking part in it, those who directly turn into a reality the plans of the country's socioeconomic development.

Moscow Radio Carries All-Union Conference 18 Jan

LD1801073490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0700 GMT on 18 January begins carrying a live relay of the All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Workers, Peasants, and Engineering and Technical Intelligentsia in the Great Kremlin Palace.

The conference opens with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev welcoming the delegates. He then gives an opening speech. [see following itemin this DAILY REPORT].

At 0747 GMT, Gorbachev concludes his speech by declaring the conference open, at which time the radio ends its live relay from of the conference proceedings.

Gorbachev Address to All-Union Conference

LD1801101590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, opening the All-Union Conference of Representatives of the Workers, Peasants, and Technical and Engineering Intelligentsia in the Great Hall of the Kremlin Palace—live]

[Text] Dear Comrades, in opening the All-Union Conference of representatives of the working class, peasantry, and technical intelligentsia: First of all I want to welcome you to this conference which is being conducted on the basis of the decision of the party's Central Committee, to greet the working people of the country in your person. [applause] We attribute great significance to this conference, and take into account its representative character, and take into account the time—and the timing of holding it is not accidental—and the tasks being solved at the present stage in restructuring, the renewal of our society. We would like to hear your opinions, your views on the urgent issues, problems of the very crucial period in our state that is being experienced.

Restructuring has entered a difficult, I would say, decisive phase in its development. Behind us, to some extent, are the rallies, although they are still taking place. Behind us are the discussions on the policy of restructuring and its main tasks. We have come to a very important stage in implementing this policy. Perestroyka is developing in breadth and depth, having enveloped all the strata of our society, of our huge country, all spheres of life. And since it is a question of deep, fundamental changes without which the renewal of society cannot take place and it cannot attain a new quality of functioning and organization, this process is also acquiring acute forms. And you all feel this, we are all feeling it.

We are becoming participants in the decisive clash of old and new positions, of different positions, opinions and of course interests. People want to get to the bottom of the present situation, to understand its prospects, what awaits us all tomorrow.

The question is asked: Haven't we made mistakes in the choice of the direction of perestroyka? And of course, everybody wants to know when the positive changes will acquire a stable character and will yield ponderable results. All these are natural questions, vital questions, for man is made in such a way that he is interested in not only his own fate, but the fate of the work collective, of the republic and the people, and of the country as a whole.

What would I like to say in this connection, anticipating today's discussion of these questions? We, for our part, have decided not to deliver a report in order to give the maximum time to you. All the more so, since in recent times you have heard quite a few reports and addresses. And probably, it is correct to arrange our time in order to begin with your speeches, conversation, and ideas which I hope you have brought here to the Great Hall of the Kremlin Palace.

Well, this is what I would like to say in my introductory and brief remarks, anticipating the discussion at this conference.

In the first place, once again I will stress that life itself, and not something that somebody invented here, subjected desires, aspirations, or ambitions have brought us to the ideas of radical perestroyka. It is necessary for us. We simply cannot continue to live as we have been living. Yes, we need perestroyka as we need air. We need it in order to reveal the possibilities of our system, our socialist system. We need it to utilize that great capital which we have accumulated over the years of Soviet power. I mean both scientific and technical potential. I mean the intellectual potential of our society. I mean also those great resources which have to be managed more and more skillfully every day in order to ensure a worthy life today, too, for both the present generation, and the future generations.

We have accumulated a great wealth of experience in building social relations and this too ought to be interpreted and made use of in order to attain a new understanding of our system, our popular system. Finally, I would like to say a few words about the main thing: The basic premise of the policy of perestroyka is still concern

for man. It is precisely at the center of the policy of perestroyka that we have placed man, his life and concerns, his interests and aspirations, and an assured future of new generations. Our whole economy, our political process, and our spiritual development is geared toward and turned precisely in this direction. Our main goal is to relieve people of the situation in which they found themselves as a result of being alienated from the means of production, from the work of the soviets, and from participation in the running of the country. Naturally, this is also a task of historical dimensions. In other words, not only are we not renouncing our socialist choice: Through the renewal of society we wish to open up the humane nature of a socialist system. We wish to achieve a humane and democratic society, a society with a dynamic economy, a society with a high level of development in science and culture, and with conditions of life in keeping with man's dignity. This is actually the formula and the main idea of our perestroyka.

Human rights must be firmly and reliably protected and, as I have already said, all conditions for a dignified life must be created in the society we are striving for. The 4 years of the current 5-year plan period that have elapsed have been full of much work, searching, adoption of difficult decisions, and important decisions determining the destiny of our state and country, and not only for the nearest future, but also for the decades ahead. They are full of the first transformations in the economic, political, social, and spiritual spheres of society. As ever, the first steps are the most difficult steps and they give rise to much reflection, concern—legitimate concern—since our present and future destiny is at stake here.

Thanks to perestroyka we can state this today: An atmosphere of democracy and glasnost is becoming established in the country. The voice of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia is being heard more and more clearly and strongly. Nevertheless, I think you will have something to say on this score, about democracy, glasnost, your own role, and on how these processes are proceeding. I think that you do have something to say and we are interested in having this information for the Party's Central Committee presented here.

This is no easy process, but we need it, comrades, and we must defend it—by this I mean the process of the democratization of our society, both against those who would like to halt it, and against those who would like to take advantage of it for unseemly purposes. Both of them exist. We have embarked upon a path of deep reforms in the economy, and this has affected attitudes toward ownership, forms of management, and administration. The position of the invidual in production—and this is a basic sphere of life—is changing substantially. The future of our society will depend a great deal on how the changes go here in the economy and of their nature—to a decisive extent. This is what we have been accustomed to calling the basis of society.

Perestroyka has opened the way to profound socioeconomic changes in the countryside and other branches of the national economy. Through the new forms of management and administration and the new system of incentives, we want to link the interests of the working people with the achievements of scientific-technical progress in order to move to a new level of labor productivity which, on the eve of perestroyka, has virtually, has, so to speak, hardly increased at all. But without this, without labor productivity based on incentives for the working man and on the utilization of scientific progress, there will be no new level of labor productivity.

The first stage of political reform has passed, not without difficulties and mistakes. This all happened before your eyes. A higher echelon of bodies of people's power has been formed and the new USSR Supreme Soviet is acquiring experience. The renewal of acts of legislation is proceeding intensively and legal preconditions for the developing perestroyka processes and the implementation of major steps on the road to building a law-based socialist state are being created.

We stand on the eve of the elections to republican and local soviets which will signify the further deepening of political reform and open up new opportunities for people's real participation in running the state. It is very important for us to hear how you evaluate this process because this is that same process to which we attach immense significance. Without cardinal changes in the status and role of the soviets—and this can be carried out through new functions and also by virtue of who comes into these soviets and who, so to speak, will be the decisive force. How will they come about? You have just come from there. You have seen everything with your own eyes, and I have to tell you that there is anxiety here, it has not yet subsided. It's still with us at this stage of the elections. It arose during the election campaign when we were nominating and electing USSR people's deputies, and we have still not eliminated the weaknesses in this process at the present stage, either.

It is precisely this year, comrades, taking into account the forthcoming elections and the adoption of decisions on the delimitation of competencies of Union and republican bodies and of the law on local self-government, that the question of transferring power to the soviets will be settled to a large degree. It is with this aim that we have also set about making sure that the necessary preconditions exist at this stage for the soviets to include our strongest cadres in all regions of the country. It is precisely for this reason—some would like to interpret it differently—that we decided, despite all the difficulties, that the questions of pay for these workers had to be settled, for it involved two-thirds to one-half of those working in production. It is precisely from here that the most active, able, and competent people are taken, and it is they who should be in the soviets, and not just those who are not needed anywhere.

Perestroyka has brought forth rapid processes of transformation in the spiritual sphere. Here, too, as in other

spheres of the life of society, they are proceeding in a non-uniform way, and I would say a contradictory way. For us, in fact, that causes quite a lot of anguish and worry. But nevertheless, the main tendency, whatever all the losses, can be seen here too. It consists in the spiritual renaissance of our society, the formation of a new moral atmosphere on the basis of socialist and universal human values. It is this tendency, the main tendency, a healthy tendency, that has to be strengthened. And we must fight resolutely against all the rabble, all those who are putting their oar in to try and muddy this process of moral renaissance in our society. Here we must not be shy of calling a spade a spade. During the changes, in essence a process of crystallizing is in progress, one of creation of the new forms of living which will determine how we see the character of the renewed society toward which we are striving.

With today's socioeconomic tension, we probably do not always notice the changes and the first real results which these changes are offering. But these exist, this is in progress. This too must be seen, so that we do not panic and say that everything is going to pieces. What is falling apart is the old ways. It is quite another matter that here and there, important and valuable things that were created by previous generations are involved. These are things that must be preserved, preserved by our common efforts, and nobody should be allowed to spoil this.

What is going on first and foremost, although not without difficulties and complexities, is a reorientation of our economy toward satisfying the varied needs of the person. This, comrades, is a decisive turn which we must take. Of course, our enormous economy always gathers such momentum that making a turn later on needs time. In this auditorium there is no need for me to expand on this score because even reorienting a factory or modernizing it right away requires, for instance, searching for ways, finding the resources, putting it all into context. Only then will the actual practical implementation of the modernization project be worked out. So let us think about this enormous economic organism, this socioeconomic organism, that the whole Union economy represents. And what is needed here is not just immense effort and time, but also immense responsibility, immense responsibility.

And nevertheless we can say that structural shifts are occurring. They have started. We are already gathering fresh momentum in favor of industries producing consumer goods, services, first and foremost in favor of the light and food industries, of the agrarian complex in principle. We are, however, not satisfied with both the manner in which this is occurring and with the degree of movement in this direction. The machine-building industries, the defense sector, and our sciences are now being attracted to the resolution of these tasks. Step by step, economic incentives are being intensified for enterprises building up the production of goods and services.

At the present time, the share of resources of the national income used for consumption and nonproductive construction has reached 83%, comrades. Not very long ago this figure was in the range of 76-77%. In recent years, the 5-year plans that were passed with more funds were channelled into the construction of housing and cultural and communal facilities. The average volume of these funds has grown by one-third. But what is this? How has this turned out for you and me, for our life? Because of this, the volume of housing has grown by 16%, and over 4 years 11,300,000 square meters of housing have been built, over and above the target set, which means an additional 200,000 new apartments. Over the 4 years, more schools, polyclinics, and clubs have been established than in the 5 preceding years. That is, in the 4 years we, as it were, gained a year. In the countryside moreover, on average, the commission of housing grew by 19% in this year, and schools, preschool institutions, clubs, and community centers grew by 29% and the number of polyclinics commissioned doubled.

The number of those having, the number of families that now have an allotment in collective gardens—and here there is, as they say, a real boom —has practically doubled. The sale of building materials to the population over these years has also doubled, although you will probably say that it is still difficult to purchase both cement and bricks and especially everything that is connected with timber, and so forth. I think that in establishing these changes one must consider how to further build up these very important trends which pertain directly to the everyday life of people.

For the first time in many years, consumer goods production has started to overtake the growth of industry producing the means of production. I would say that this is very important for our economy, since we were oriented in an exactly opposite direction. And as a result, the volume of retail trade turnover increased by R25 billion in 1988, and in this year by yet another R37 billion. Earlier these figures were somewhere in the range of 10-12, at most R15 billion.

Soviet families now have more household consumer durables: 70% more color televisions; 30% more tape recorders. More people have cars, refrigerators, etc. I am giving these figures in terms of goods because there is, at present, a view—and not without the help of our economists—which asks why we are giving the percentages, so to speak, in rubles. This is because of price increases. I am, therefore, giving indicators in terms of goods because this speaks for itself. And I would also like to name indicators which refer to foodstuffs in terms of raw figures.

In 1985, 9.6 million tonnes of meat products were produced from state resources of raw material. In 1989, the figure was 11.4 million tonnes, i.e., an increase of 1.8 million tonnes of meat, not livestock, but meat. Correspondingly, 1.5 million tonnes of animal fat was produced then. Now, the figure last year was 1.7 million tonnes. Whole milk production is up from 29.5 million

tonnes to 33 million tonnes; sugar, from 7.6 million tonnes to 8.8 million tonnes; vegetable oil, from 2.4 million tonnes to 3 million tonnes. This is also in terms of produce, so to speak.

All this, even bearing in mind the increase in the country's population, and it is growing, understandably, has made it possible to raise per capita consumption slightly. The same is the case with many types of light industry products. Following this, you already have a question. I know you have come here with it. We, too, are asking ourselves this question and are trying to get to the bottom of it. I think this is a part of our life which has to do with the socioeconomic tension in society, and we will pay attention, business-like attention, to this at this conference, in order to get down to the bare bones [rasskryt vse pruzhiny] and work out a joint approach to what has to be done.

The question arises as to why all these positive changes are not visible in the shops? This is a general question which concerns us and we are engaged in analyzing the reasons for this situation. Why are shortages not only not decreasing, but getting worse? Why, instead of normal trade, is the practice of selling things through rationing and through special orders at institutions and enterprises increasing? Yes, there are difficulties of an objective kind which have decreased our potential for increasing goods. We need even more. After all, first and foremost, we need to increase goods. These difficulties include losses as a result of the change in the price of oil and of natural disasters, and so on.

But it is not just a matter of this nor so much of this. Naturally we are dissatisfied with the work of industry when it comes to the production of goods and services. This is the main thing. We are dissatisfied with the results of work in the agrarian sector. I think that today or tomorrow we will discuss this. It is important for us to clarify what needs to be done now, urgently, by all of us, everywhere, in all parts. All the more so since when it comes to supplies of foodstuffs we are coming up against a situation whereby in 32 oblasts of the Russian Federation the situation over these years has seriously improved. On account of successful development, especially with regard to the livestock breeding sectors, the situation has changed for the better. Even what were very difficult oblasts in the past have somehow improved the situation on the market.

Just take the whole region of our black-soil zone. Here fairly intensive work has led to an improved market situation. Probably the comrades will confirm this. I have in mind Ryazan, too, where there were very many rebukes on the part of the people. I also have Tambov in mind. Everything there is being used, both the cooperative opportunities—not only of the collective farms and the state farms, but the cottage industry—cooperative trade, and so on, and so forth.

But, comrades, if we talk about the present situation that has taken shape in the consumer market, then it is to a decisive extent explained by the fact that an avalanche-like increase in monetary incomes has occurred in our country over the last 2 years in particular while the growth rates of goods production has remained low. That's it in a nutshell, as they say. Just look at what is happening. Last year, 1989, the rate of increment in the wages fund exceeded the rate of growth of the national income by 5.4 times. The growth in the sale of goods and the marketing of paid services 40%. This happened when there was an unprecedented increase in goods, by 9.3%, I think the preliminary figure is.

And services grew even more. It has been a long time since anything like this happened. Nevertheless, the gap is a big one and the gap is not closing, but is widening. Can we put the question in this manner—that we have to stop the growth of wages, to restrain it, to block it? From the standpoint of perestroyka, from the standpoint of our socialist social policy, I think that this formulation is not correct. But what is suitable and should be firmly implemented? It is the fact that one must pay for actual results, for the end product. It turns out that this is not what is happening. Since goods and services are being built up at completely different rates than wages are growing, this means that we are not paying for the end product, comrades. Thus, evidently the independence of their enterprise and having the funds at their disposal ends up with money being channelled first and foremost into wages. This can be illustrated now, but I am only giving you an idea so that you can express your attitude to this and your evaluation of it.

In 1989 monetary incomes grew by 13%. This comrades, is the reason why a program of urgent measures was needed to improve the situation in the consumer market, to improve finances and in general the whole economy, which the government worked out and submitted to the Second Congress of People's Deputies for examination and ratification. You remember how heatedly it was discussed and what great polarization there was there, so to speak, of opinions in evaluating this program.

Nevertheless, this program was examined, filled out, and enriched by the opinions of the deputies, and was endorsed. So I am counting on you to speak your minds on this matter and speak out first and foremost on what we have to do, what we have to give our attention to, so that this program is not left hanging in the air. I will have more to say on this score because, comrades, this is the situation in which we all, the whole country, find ourselves now, in 1990. In essence, the direction in which both the sitaution in the consumer market, and the whole socioeconomic situation develop will depend to a large extent on how things go for us this year, how we cope with the tasks that are posed in 1990, as will the way that reform goes further in our country. This year we have to both resolve urgent steps and adopt very important laws—on property, land, taxes, enterprises, self-management—everything that should provide a powerful impetus for economic reform.

In this context, and I ask you to reflect this, all our work, in all the labor collectives, in all organs of admnistration and power both centrally and locally, acquires exceptional importance for the life of the people and for the destiny of perestoryka. That is what the work we are faced with this year is worth. We have to exchange opinions about how to make use more quickly of the opportunities opened up by economic and political reform. One cannot leave unheeded the fact that last year, with growth rates of 1.7% in industrial production—this, comrades, is why I am talking about reform, it will, I think, even be the central theme—in industry's leasing collectives, this growth of industrial output came to 5.8%. So 1.7% for the whole of industry, and 5.8% for leasing collectives. The same applies to leasing in agriculture. With the same resources for those leasing, the rates of growth of produce and of labor productivity were 50% greater.

However, there are few leasehold collectives. However, it is not just a matter of leasehold. There are other forms—contract, with profound financial autonomy, with powerful incentives, personal interest, and collective interests. And that also works and yields approximately the same results.

And so we see that our experience itself gives the answers as to how to carry out matters, in which direction the reform should go. New forms of economic operation need to be assimilated, new systems of providing incentives to the responsibility of the person and to his role.

However, both in industry, as I said, and in the agricultural sector, the share of collectives working according to the new forms of economic operation are still too few. Well, in your opinion, what should be done in order to speed up the transition to new forms of economic operation? We are counting on you to talk about that, too. Let's talk about what has to be done in order to remove all the obstacles in the way of profound economic reforms and the development of initiative. Further, comrades, we need to exchange opinions regarding the measures which have to be taken in order—already at the present stage, with the principles of financial autonomy having not yet begun to operate fully—to significantly reduce losses, losses which we are incurring as a result of mismanagement, waste, and the violation of labor and state discipline.

In sum, we are faced with the tasks of considerably improving order in everything and everywhere. I know the situation in the country—regarding order. And order, not just in the economy, but in general, in our society as a whole, is giving rise to great concern. People are asking bluntly: well, then, will perestroyka be accompanied by a growth in disorder and disorganization? Or are we doing something wrong, thereby complicating life in society, and are we jeopardizing that policy which in general we need? We know that. We have now satisfied ourselves of that.

I hope that over the next few days we will speak of what needs to be done in labor collectives themselves, what needs to be done at the level of oblasts and republics, and what needs to be done by the center. I think that when the center says that the provinces are working badly, that, comrades, I think, is far from the truth. When the provinces ask what is the center thinking about, where is the government, what is it thinking about; let the government come, the chairman, or members of the government come and introduce order, so to speak; see that the city is clean, that urban transport runs. Well, that is already, so to speak—well, what talk can there be of reform, of self-sufficiency, of self-government, if there is a need to go to a specific city and rayon and organize, so to speak, that life.

We have no doubt grown used to looking immediately to the center on any matter, asking for a ready made decision from above, and that's that. That's it. That time has gone, because we know where that approach has got us. We in the center must also...[Gorbachev changes thought] Much depends on how the center acts, because if those instructions and old laws are to hold on to and swaddle every collective and working person, things will get nowhere. Nowhere. The center bears ultimate responsibility for this. But from now on, the repubics, rayons, cities, and work collectives must act, and cadres must act.

Why, over the 4 years, have radical transformations taken place with some, long before many important decisions had been made? I hope a whole volume. I asked my comrades for a list. There are collectives which have begun working in a totally different way in industry and in the sphere, you know, of trade, and so on. And the results are totally different. But in others, you understand, it is as if nothing has been touched. Things are just as they were before. It's as though there has been some kind of deliberate sabotage. People look and say that somewhere far away people are making a fuss and are speaking about perestroyka, and something is happening somewhere, but not here.

Comrades, we must consider all this today. Not simply, as the saying goes, to look for a scapegoat. We know all about that. We are great experts at that. Rather, what we need to do is work together, sharing out the work in every area of management of our enormous and complex social organism, in order to move forward with different steps and, all the more, so as not to shift from one foot to the other. We cannot remain in this state any longer.

Moreover, comrades, we must all understand that we know the volumes of resources. No one can give us any more. The resources which we possess are, nonetheless enormous, enormous. But we cannot expend them as we have done until now. If you take the expenditure of resources per unit of the national income in our country comrades to the developed capitalist countries, the difference is such that the result works against us, to the extent that we use at least 30% more energy and material resources, and even 1.5 times, or, I think twice as much

cement per unit of national income. There they are—our resources. So let us think about technology, about order, about good management, about assiduity. Our great expanses, our wealth with all its resoures have dissipated us and we simply cannot get away from this dissipation. We cannot get ourselves out of it. It is quite simply a curse on our economy as a whole, on all of our work.

That is why we need to bring the matter to full financial autonomy at every enterprise more quickly in order that everybody may live according to how he uses resources. If good use is made of them, the benefit is great, if bad use is made, they are under threat, right up to going [pauses, searches for correct verb]...bankrupt—I've got tied up in knots in the Russian language—they end up in a state of bankruptcy. That, too, ought to be, you understand, a signal for thought for everyone. Attitudes to the matter have to be changed. And of course, comrades, let's put it bluntly, by getting involved in reform, in reforming property relations, carrying out the search for new forms of management, we have, to a certain extent, weakened what emphasis was laid, at the beginning of perestroyka, on strengthening scientific and technical progress, on the mastery of new technologies. And the matter won't move without that. Those are two sides of that process. Both one and the other ought, so to speak, be present, be in the field of vision.

On the whole, comrades, we must now lay special stress on efficiency [delovitost], universally act more wisely, with better organization, and more effectively. Now, as never before, we need common efforts; not discord and confrontation, but a consolidation of society on those specific tasks which we must—we absolutely have to—resolve in this crucial year.

In my introduction, I am deliberately stressing questions connection with the socio-economic situation in society. I would say that here is the pivot of our work, since all of that bears directly upon people's living conditions, both upon their general state and mood.

However, even in the complex socio-economic situation, our people are manifesting a growing interest in everything that is happening in the country. They want to achieve a thorough grip both on the processes of democratization and glasnost, of what is useful here, and the costs of this very important process which socialism cannot live without; and in the processes and what the role of the renewed soviets should be and the participation of working people in the activities of these soviets; what the CPSU should be like in the conditions of profound political changes in the country; and what needs to be done in order to fill the Soviet Federation with new life. All this must be decided. Only on the paths of change, of revealing the potential of the Federation, can we justify the hopes and aspirations of people of all nationalities and all peoples. There is no other way here. You see, however, that these processes are progressing painfully. Problems have spilled over which have been accumulating for decades—what decades, no, centuries—and they have acquired such a character or are sometimes acquiring such a character which we have come up against both in the Baltics, in Moldavia, and now look what forms these interethnic feuds are taking between [Gorbachev corrects himself] in Transcaucasia, in Azerbaijan, and in Armenia. All of this disturbs us and we are now engaged in stopping this process from deepening and becoming aggravated. We have taken the step of using force, too, against extremism, against the criminals, against this vandalism.

All the same, however, we must resolve the destiny of our federation and improve the way people feel with regard to the development of this federation, and on its direction; this is the main direction, and thus is not changed, despite the measures that we sometimes have to take in order to extinguish and lower the acuteness in interethnic relations. People see that elements of instability, a slackening of the management of the economic and social process, and of discipline and order have entered our life. They want to know the reasons for these manifestations and to sort things out in order to find out what has to be done in order to decisively change the whole situation in society for the better.

Of course, much is explained by the fact that we are moving away from old forms, from command forms. We are moving over to new forms that are based upon political and economic methods, but we have rejected the old and we have not yet set the new in motion, and this period of transition is proceeding in a painful way. This has to be understood.

What is the practical conclusion? This period of transition has to be compressed to the maximum extent possible, so that it is short, so that society begins to stabilize itself and acquire stability on the basis of using the new approaches and the new methods of managing social processes in the country.

The activity of the Party Central Committee and the Politburo, of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government is also assessed in the light of, from the angle of all of this [pauses]...namely the question of stability and government. We hear critical observations, too. No doubt they will also be heard here at our meeting. All this is a normal process if it is imbued with concern for ensuring that our society picks up good speed and moves in the interests of the people, and that perestroyka is implemented more quickly.

All these at the same time are very big issues, comrades, ones that require deep analysis and responsibility of the very greatest kind. I have already said more than once, and I want to say it now in front of you: I, like my colleagues in the Party Central Committee and in the Supreme Soviet, am open to discuss the most [pauses]...any questions and any proposals, particularly those which contain within them a reserve of constructiveness. And I think that we must nevertheless give a resolute rebuff to easy and hasty judgements and conclusions, which are generally aimed at hampering and destabilizing the situation and introducing disorder into society,

at making more difficult the activity of working bodies, of the new bodies working in this new situation. This, too, has to be seen, and not left without attention.

I think the time has passed when we heard enough whereby one can criticize the management—it is all now clear, it is already normal, this process is under way—but now it is necessary to act so that this process should be constructive and not just demagogic, as is often the case in our situation. If there is a need for balance it is precisely in these questions, in these questions, comrades. Some people think it is very simple, and throw simple solutions and replies to society and the working people. It is something like Kashpirovskiy's seances [television hypnotist], so to speak—one, two, and all society is cured—you understand. It is profanation based on inadequate political culture in our society, and mainly profiteering on difficulties. For people, life indeed has become acutely more complex, everything is in short supply, and people want to get out of this situation as soon as possible. And who does not want this? Those sitting right here now—don't they want this? They perhaps want more than anything that their work will bring results sooner. All of us want it. But there are no simple solutions. We should rid ourselves from the simple illusions that it is possible with one stroke—over a month, a year—to solve something. No. There are questions which take a year or two to solve. There are such, and they should be solved. But in principle, the renovation of our society is a deep process and it should be carried out fundamentally. We are now generally thinking abut the questions of how the new organs function in new conditions. We are thinking in the Central Committee, and these questions are actively discussed in deputies' corps. There is an increasing similarity of opinion in that when forming the new organs of supreme authority and determining their functions, we failed in the beginning to fully solve the task of creating an effective central mechanism. This needs to be said. This we can see. We have not yet created an efficient central mechanism for realizing the aims and policies of perestroyka. This should trouble us, this we should realize. Preparing an introductory speech, I decided to tell you this and seek your advice. I think that we should think this question over without delay. We need to find an answer to this complicated question which life itself has presented, all together, and with mutual agreement.

We certainly need democratic supreme power, capable of acting effectively, of protecting perestroyka and moving it along resolutely, and of tackling the complex problems of the renewal of society in the interests of all peoples.

These are some of the ideas I wanted to express in order to give you a boost, as far as possible, so to speak, not only from below, but also through the reflections of those in the Central Committee leadership—I think it is at the converging point of these opinions and debates that the conversation will get going.

I declare our conference open. [applause]

Leaders Attending

LD1801113690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] An All-Union Conference of Representatives of Workers, Peasants, and Engineering and Technical Intelligentsia opened in Moscow today. Envoys from works, factories, production associations, collective and state farms, cooperatives, leasing collectives, science-research, draft and design, and other organizations have gathered in the Great Kremlin Palace.

Taking part in the conference are Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ivashko, Ligachev, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Shevardnadze, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Pugo, Razumovskiy, Yazov, Baklanov, Manayenkov, Stroyev, Usmanov, and Frolov; deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of ministries and departments; and scholars.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, opened the conference with an introductory speech, following which an exchange of views began on a wide range of problems concerning perestroyka.

Troops in Transcaucusus Being Reinforced

LD1701192790 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—In accordance with the January 15, 1990, decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, emergency measures to control the situation and establish law and order continued to be enforced on January 17 in a number of regions of Azerbaijan and some areas of Armenia adjacent to it. The situation in the region fully confirms that these measures have been justified and urgently needed. Outrages and pogroms that caused human victims have occurred in the past twenty-four hours.

As part of the measures to curb criminal activities law enforcement agencies detained 31 pogrom activists. A large amount of weapons and ammunition was confiscated. Criminal proceedings were started and investigation is under way.

With the aim of enhancing the efficiency of the measures the law enforcement forces are being reinforced, the troops of the Transcaucasian Military District are posted at vital facilities of the Azerbaijani and Transcaucasian railways. Some units of the Transcaucasian Military District continue to be reinforced to defend citizens and vital facilities.

The number of border troops defending the state border is being increased.

Along with these measures local party and government bodies, in cooperation with the political bodies of the Armed Forces, the Interior Ministry and border troops of the USSR Committee for State Security (KGB) are conducting explanatory work among the population.

The situation in the region remains complex.

Given Rules for Firearms' Use

LD1701192890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the USSR Defense Ministry, Interior Ministry, and KGB:

Instances of bandit attacks on arms and ammunition stores and other installations of the Soviet Army, the Internal Affairs bodies, and the USSR KGB aimed at obtaining control of arms, explosive substances, and combat gear and equipment have taken place in various regions of the Azerbaijani and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's in recent days. The arms seized are being used for theft and robbery and to further escalate tension in the region. The illegal actions being committed by criminal and extremist elements are accompanied by violence, threats, and the use of arms, as a result of which there are deaths and injuries among servicemen and staff of the law enforcement bodies.

Servicemen of the Soviet Army and of the internal troops of the Interior Ministry and militia and USSR KGB staff are displaying maximum endurance and restraint in this complex situation. Risking their own lives, they have refrained from repulsing the criminals with arms, in order to prevent bloodshed. However, as a result of the sharp extension of the scale of such bandit operations, the situation has become intolerable. The leadership of the USSR Defense Ministry, Interior Ministry, and KGB have given instructions on the use of arms by personnel in strict accordance with prescribed requirements and current legislation. These measures are intended to prevent the further seizure of arms by criminal elements and new casualties among the civilian population and to protect the lives of servicemen and staff of the law enforcement bodies.

Unable To Stop Ethnic Unrest

LD1701181990 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Stepanakert January 17 TASS—The situation is tense in areas bordering on Nagorno-Karabakh. The large numbers of Interior Ministry troops deployed in the Shaumyan and Khanlar regions in Azerbaijan have been unable to stop ethnic unrest.

Interior and army troops continue to pour into areas where emergency situation was introduced on January 15, following a Supreme Soviet decree. In some residential areas in Azerbaijan, the movement of troops has been blocked by local residents.

At a railway station near Gyanja [placename as received] extremists seized four battle tanks which were later recaptured by authorities.

Nagorno-Karabakh is also embroiled in ethnic tensions. A water intake facility and a Water pipe-line were blown up in two places near Stepanakert late on January 16, leaving a third of the city without water.

On January 16, at 21:30, residents of an Armenian village in the Shusha region stopped a car with five Azerbaijanis, who had two machine-guns, two shot-guns, a small-calibre rifle, two kilograms of hashish and about 350,000 roubles in cash. Local residents turned the passengers and their belongings over to Interior Ministry forces patrolling the area. Authorities have started a criminal investigation into the incident.

The situation in areas under emergency law is being controlled by the Interior Ministry and Army units.

Gremitskikh: Journalists Should Avoid Transcaucasia

LD1701143990 Moscow TASS in English 1430 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—At a briefing here today, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh replied to questions on the situation in Transcaucasia.

He said, in particular, that as a result of events there the number of victims was unfortunately growing. Having noted the complexity of the situation in the region, he at the same time denied any worsening of the situation as compared with the previous day. Gremitskikh also confirmed that additional troops had been sent to those areas.

Considering the complexity of the situation and the requests of authorities in Azerbaijan and Armenia, the Soviet spokesman called on foreign journalists to refrain from travelling to those republics.

Nationalists Harass Reporters

LD1601212290 Moscow TASS in English 2027 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—Reporters in Soviet Transcaucasia are being harassed by nationalists, who break their equipment and prevent them from providing unbiased coverage, the chief of the Soviet interior troops said in an interview with the Soviet television today.

Persons who provoke disturbances, pogroms and ethnic killings are hindering the work of correspondents, Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin said, explaining why the news coverage of ethnic tensions in the area was so slow.

An emergency situation was imposed in Nargorno-Karabakh and several other areas in Azerbaijan and Armenia following calls on both sides to arm the local population and band into militant units, he said.

Nationalists captured at least 206 battle and drill submachine guns and more than 100 other units of fire-arms in the last couple of days, he said.

On Monday [15 January], extremists managed to seize four battle tanks, which were later recaptured by authorities, he said.

Stepanakert, Shusha, Agdam, Askeran, the Mardakert and Shaumyan regions, which have both Armenian and Azerbaijani communities, are the hottest spots in the ethnic conflict now plaguing Nagorno-Karabakh and neighbouring areas in Azerbaijan, he said.

More on Transcaucasus Situation

LD1701211590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Here is a summary of operations from the Transcaucasus.

During the past 24 hours, there have been no killings in Baku. Nevertheless, pogroms have continued in some rayons. In Karadagskiy Rayon, training weapons, three automatic rifles, and three small-caliber rifles, were stolen. The situation in the town of Gyandzha, the former Kirovabad, remains difficult. The military airport there and the exit routes from the town are blockaded.

An operational investigative group from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has begun to function. Sixty-three people have been detained on suspicion of taking part in excesses.

In Baku today, Comrades Girenko and Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijanian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, met Comrade (Godzhayev), chairman of the Azerbaijan Society of Refugees from Armenia.

As is known, the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, adopted the other day, on the introduction of a state of emergency, recommended that the government of Azerbaijan should impose a curfew on Baku. Such a decision has not as yet been taken here. [video shows police in riot gear standing in front of a crowd; then an APC bearing the number "036" moving along a street]

There are many sad sights in the world, but it is probably one of the bitterest to see people abandoning their home. There are thousands and thousands of them today in Baku. [video shows people sitting with their luggage; others standing in a crowd and talking; close-up of children]

The U.S. television company CBS managed to obtain a film recording the events in Gyandzha last Sunday. The film records the operations of Azeri and Armenian fighting groups.

Yazov Discusses Armenia, Azerbaijan

LD1801021890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2345 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Interview with Army General Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, by unidentified reporter; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] My first question to you, Comrade Defense Minister, is as follows: We are getting a very large number of phone calls at the editorial office from different republics, krays, and oblasts. People are calling in to say that reservists are currently being called up for the Army. How can you explain this?

[Yazov] On 16 January this year, a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place concerning the proclamation of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and some other areas. You will know that since 1987, the NKAO has not been calm. All this has finally taken the form of armed clashes between the two peoples: Azerbaijanis and Armenians. We hope that the introduction of a state of emergency in the oblast itself and in adjacent areas will promote a stabilization of the situation. In this connection, a decision has been adopted to carry out a full mobilization of formations [otmobilizovat soyedineniya] from certain oblasts of the Soviet Union to enable them to take part in maintaining order, discipline, and good organization in the period of the state of emergency that has been proclaimed, and perhaps maintain the curfew in a number of towns and population centers. Without the troops, and particularly the troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and indeed without the troops of the Soviet Army, it would be impossible to implement the imposed state of emergency or curfew.

It is necessary to uphold the protection and defense of certain installations and to insure the functioning of the railways, to introduce order at the state border—which, you know, has been ruined and destroyed in parts —and it is necessary to guarantee the security of the population itself. It is especially uneasy now in Khanlar and Shaumyanovsk rayons, where both Armenians and Azerbaijanis reside. The Azerbaijanis and Armenians there are purely and simply fighting. They have armed themselves with rifles. Some have gotten hold of homemade arms and grenades, and some—as a result of attacks on the militarized guard, rayon militia departments, and even some warehouses—have obtained a certain number of combat automatic weapons. These combatants are confronting each other, and moreover, this is being done under the guise of allegedly protecting the interests of the population—the Armenians protecting the Armenian population, and the Azerbaijanis the Azerbaijani population—but in reality, on both sides it is a crime against

the constitution, against the law, and against the people. So, in order to insure order, we are compelled to bring up to wartime strength a certain proportion of the units and subunits located in that area.

The fact that people are shooting at one another is a completely abnormal situation, a completely abnormal state of affairs. What is more, informal groups—women, children, and old folk, including Communists—have united on nationalist grounds, on a nationalist basis.

[Correspondent] There are a lot of instigators there, are there not?

[Yazov] Yes, if it were not for the instigators, the event itself would not have happened and the unbridled crimes that are occurring there now would not have taken place. What can one say? Both sides are trying to blame the center for everything. After the publication of the Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, the Armenians are saying it was done in the interests of Azerbaijan, and the Azerbaijanis say it was done in the interests of the Armenians. I would say that it is in the interests of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. I think that the comrades who are being called up into the Armed Forces for a certain period will understand correctly the tasks they are being set. No one is setting them the task of killing, shooting, or going onto some offensive. It is principally to protect public order. It is simply that the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops are not enough because the area is too...[changes thought] It is very large and the people have been roused by these events in literally all towns and population centers. So it is simply necessary to institute surveillance of population centers, roads, state enterprises, institutions, and so on, and to prevent chaos from arising.

[Reporter] I said earlier that of course, a certain role is also being played there by extremist forces that are trying to stir up the situation. However, they also exist where the call up is currently underway. In this regard, I would like you to reply to the question put by our listeners: Who is currently being called up from among the reservists, what categories of people?

[Yazov] We are attempting to call up young men who have served in the Army recently and who have no family ties. Naturally, everywhere, in all collectives, there are orderly people and there are extremists, but there are few people who want to go, who say: I am ready to go and introduce order, especially in another republic. In the final analysis, however, we are the one Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and I think that all Russians and Ukrainians and Belorussians understand what is happening there with pain in their hearts, and that it is necessary to assist Azerbaijan and Armenia to introduce order at last.

If one is to speak about who is suffering most of all, of course it is not those who are now being called up into the Army, but those who are located there in Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Armenians and the Azerbaijanis are suffering most of all. Just now, two aircraft arrived in Nasosnyy, offloaded soldiers, and the Armenians dashed en masse, crammed into the two aircraft, and would not leave until our men had taken them to Armenia. So we had to take them to Armenia. People leave, having abandoned everything, only in order to save their lives. It is possible, according to this example alone, to determine how complex and contradictory is the situation that has taken shape in tese two republics.

[Reporter] I think that, whatever you named the situation that exists there now, generally it is disaster.

[Yazov] Disaster, great disaster, and most regrettably, the leaders of neither republic understand it. Instead of understanding this and urging the people to be calm, everything possible is being done to excite the situation. Rise and arm yourself and go on the offensive against them! Is that really possible in the one country and the one state to decide tasks and problems? Moreover, we are so much connected in economic terms, and we are so economically interdependent, that today the Armenians say that there is no petroleum or kerosene, but if there is none, then it will only arrive through the territories of Azerbaijan and Georgia. How can one live under such confrontations?

[Reporter] I also wanted to ask you to comment on the following point: We know that today a 500,000-man cutback is being conducted in the USSR Armed Forces. Against this background, is it expedient—Well, I understand that you consider it expedient—today to send servicemen into the reserve and to call up reservists? Maybe it makes more sense to wait before demobilizing men to the reserve, and thereby it will be possible to limit the call-up of those reservists?

[Yazov] There is a certain misconception in this question. What does it mean to have a 500,000 cutback? If one is to talk about the soldiers, we have already completed the cutback. We have dismissed 172,000 students, and we have not called up anybody to replace them. We dismissed those who came out of Afghanistan, and did not call up anybody to replace them. And those formations and units which we will cut will be withdrawn from the West...

[Reporter, interrupting]... From the socialist countries.

[Yazov] Yes, from the socialist countries. In the East and the West we are going to cut whole formations, including the officer and warrant officer personnel. Therefore, there simply are no ready subunits, units, and formations here which might be used to guarantee order in Armenia.

[Reporter] Evidently, the point is not when this will be: tomorrow or a month from now. It is required already today.

[Yazov] It is required today to guarantee law and order, precisely today. Therefore, men are being called up from neighboring oblasts.

[Reporter] I also would like to set you the following quesiton, Comrade Yazov: Here we have Karabakh and other rayons adjacent to it. For a certain time, there was order there. We will not say that everything was so very peaceful there, but there was a lull. Now there is a serious eruption. We are introducing troops, different types and forms of troops there. For how long can that continue? Let us presume that they will introduce order there now, and in 6 months there will be a fresh flare-up. How long will we have to keep the troops there?

[Yazov] the entire point is that both in the NKAO and on the territories of Azerbaijan and Armenia there are permanently deployed troops. To some extent they guarantee order, but today the situation has gotten out of control to such an extent that those troops are simply insufficient. For some determinate amount of time—and it will depend on the situation—we are obliged to deploy a certain additional contingent of troops. After order is introduced, these soldiers naturally will be sent back to their homes, demobilized, and law and order will be handed over to those troops and security bodies that are permanently located there. They are the Ministry of Internal Affairs and those nine units on garrison service there.

Vezirov on 'Destabilizing' Forces in Baku

LD1701181190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Here is a report from our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich from Azerbaijan.

[Lazarevich] The tense nature of the situation in the republic and its capital continues. There has been more crossfire in the past 24 hours, including in the areas bordering Armenia and in Nagorno- Karabakh. There have been pogroms in Baku, but now they have mostly spread to apartments which have been abandoned by their owners. True, there have been casualties here—18 have been taken to the hospital.

A briefing by Comrade Vezirov, first secretary of the [Azerbaijan Communist Party] Central Committee, who heads the headquarters in charge of normalizing the situation, took place today in the republic's Central Committee. He devoted the start of his speech to the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the introduction of a state of emergency in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and areas adjacent to the oblast. [Begin Vezirov recording] Now, as you know, troops are coming to us to ensure the measures laid down in this decree are carried out. Unfortunately, on this occasion, too, we observe the actions of certain forces who are trying to block the movement of troops. I would not say that all the issues involved in halting the bandits' actions, particularly in our city, have been solved at this moment.

It is clear that many party organizations are insufficiently active. At the Party Central Committee Bureau we have just very seriously criticized the city's leadership and a number of party rayon committees in Baku on this matter. It cannot be right that only something like 4,000-to-5,000 members of the the Voluntary People's Militia are now participating in maintaining public order, in a city party organization where there are 140,000 Communists. Members of the Voluntary People's Militia have started taking part, and they have been on patrols with the troops, but we expect them to be very active; indeed we demand this.

We are observing certain differences of opinion within the ranks of the Popular Front and in its movements. We are maintaining contact. We have been prepared, we are prepared now, and we are demonstrating all the time the maximum joint readiness, especially at this time.

I must say, comrades, that undoubtedly—and we can see this, and I want to point this out—that there are many honest people here who are very concerned about helping to stabilize the situation, and I would like to note with satisfaction that from this section of the population we are getting a boost to imposing order and participation in the patrols, and so on. But we cannot fail to see, either, that the other section of the population is actively destabilizing the situation, and it may be they are directly in charge of matters aimed at destabilizing the situation in Baku and in the republic. [end recording]

Armenian Leaders Meet Gorbachev, Others in Moscow

NC1701182490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1715 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] On 17 January there was a meeting at the CPSU Central Committee between Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Ryzkhov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the one hand, and Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium; Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, on the other hand, at the initiative of the republic's leadership in view of the extraordinary situation prevailing in the region.

During the uninterrupted and comprehensive talks, the republic's leadership enumerated its stance and the opinions of our people regarding the stabilization of the situation in the region, the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast problem, the 28 November 1989 decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the implementation of the 15 January decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the creation of stable guarantees for safeguarding the security of the Armenian population, and the question of giving a political assessment to the genocide that has taken place.

Special attention was given to caring for those who were forced to become refugees, overcoming the economic

blockade of the republic, and creating normal living conditions for the people. Attention was also given to a number of other problems deeply disturbing our people.

It was stressed that it is the moral and political duty of the republic's leadership and of all communists to be with the people, express their feelings and aspirations, support them, and protect their honor and dignity.

The suggestions of the Armenian Communist Party Bureau concerning the prevailing situation were presented to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo for examination.

The country's leadership responded to the issues raised with new comprehension and concern. Enormous importance was given to the preservation of stability in the republic and to reducing tension by political means by relying on the consciousness and wisdom of the people .

Armenian Leadership Statement on Refugees

NC1701191890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1715 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Statement issued by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian Council of Ministers; date not given]

[Text] The ongoing anti-Armenian campaign, the savage acts committed in Baku City, and the mass massacres have generated a new wave directed at uprooting the Armenian population of Azerbaijan. A great number of Armenian citizens threatened with physical extermination on the basis of their ethnic identity were forced to abandon their native lands and take refuge in Armenia and other areas of the country.

More than 4,000 refugees have arrived in the republic in the last 3 or 4 days. Many of them, including elderly people, women, and children, arrived in the republic with serious injuries.

Because of (?the manner of their evacuation) and the real threat to their lives, the refugees are arriving without any (?belongings), documents, or financial means. In their haste, they cannot even bring the most vital goods.

The exodus of the refugees is continuing. The republic's government is taking measures to organize the reception, settlement, and assistance provided to the refugees. Nevertheless, taking into account the exceedingly grave conditions in the republic, the extreme housing shortage and other problems, and the existence of the 200,000 refugees who arrived earlier and the hundreds of thousands of homeless from the earthquake, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the operative committee of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers appeal to all citizens of the republic who have the means to provide temporary shelter to the refugees. The operative committee appeals to the local soviets of people's deputies, ministries, departments, enterprises, organizations, and all labor collectives to (?take effective measures) to provide temporary shelter, school books, tuition, and other assistance to the refugees and to provide them with jobs and social assistance.

A fund is being created in the republic to provide urgent assistance to the refugees. The operative committee appeals to labor collectives, public organizations, and individual citizens to contribute funds for this purpose to account No 700-810 at the [name indistinct] of the USSR (?Housing Fund Bank).

Primakov Statement at Azerbaijan Party Meeting

LD1701151190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Statement to representatives of the media on 16 January by Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, candidate member of the Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Union, at a meeting of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in Baku—recorded]

[Text] The militia, troops of the MVD [Ministry of Interior], the KGB, the Procuracy—additional forces have arrived from Moscow. They have all been involved in trying to stabilize the situation. What, chiefly do we still lack? Let me say that in Baku—this is really work in local areas, work in local areas by the city's party organization, the central party organization of the republic, local soviet bodies, and so on, because the majority of people are upset by what has happened. I see the Azeri people en masse as an internationalist people, and we have seen a great many cases where people of Armenian nationality have been saved and protected by Azeri families. All this does take place. But at the same time we see very different things as well. These (?acts) of gangsterism and vandalism, these criminal elements should be justly rebuffed both by the public and, incidentally, I appeal to you in this matter. I earnestly appeal to you to do this, no matter how unpopular this may seem to some people, particularly those publishing in local areas. But you must write about this as loudly as you can. What has happened is a disgrace for Azerbaijan and the Azeri people.

You ask me when it will all be settled, so to speak. Well, I could ask this question of Comrade Vezirov and all those other comrades, sitting here in front of us. Everything is being done to restore order. Additional measures will be necessary and will be taken. But we can tell you firmly, that order will be restored. I do not think that friendship and brotherhood will immediately appear. It would, no doubt, be too optimistic to think in that way. But it is necessary to normalize relations, to live side by side and gradually, so to speak, to restore contacts. All this is necessary. Because, even if there is not one single Armenian on Azerbaijan territory just as there is no longer one Azeri on Armenian territory, even if things were this way, all the same, you understand, you have to live near each other.

I think masses of realistic opportunities have been wasted, on both sides. You see, we have grown accustomed to blaming everything on the center, to saying: It's the center, the center. And this is still the way we think, what we have inherited from the past. Now, we want to carry out as much decentralization as we can today. We truly want to give the republics maximum sovereignty. We still live in a unitary state and we have the psychology of a unitary state, with makes everyone think: the center, the center, the center.

The republics should (act in some way?) also, you see. They should try somehow to find a common language and to reach agreement. This must all be done. But if each side turns its back on the other and believes that even contacts are out of the question, and does not even want to sit down at the table to talk to the other side, this is terrible. Even now, the Palestinians and the Israelis, after everything that has happened. [sentence incomplete as heard] Eventually, everyone sits down at a common table and begins talking and reaching agreement. Therefore, it is essential that we really strive somehow toward this.

Volskiy on Missed Opportunities in NKAO

PM1701120390 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 7 Jan 90 pp 4-5

[Interview with Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Special Administration Committee, by Andrey Pralnikov: "Nagorno- Karabakh. How To Use Power?"; date, place of interview not given]

Karabakh has caused a string of ethnic conflicts of late. In February 1988 a crowd of Azerbaijanians, running into many thousands, moved to ransack the Askeran settlement. Then came the horrible Sumgait massacre. A wave of violence then swept both republics. More than 300 people have already been killed, more than 300,000 from both sides have become refugees. The total damage for the country caused by many months of blockade in Nagorny Karabakh, by strikes at the enterprises of the region is estimated at about four billion roubles.

Early in 1989, by a decision of the USSR government, power went to the Special Rule Committee of Nagorny Karabakh. But an exchange of shots and the seizure of hostages, the blowing up of bridges and obstructions on the roads continue. On November 28, 1989, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a Resolution "On measures for the Normalization of the Situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region". It reads in part: "...further preservation of the Special Rule Committee of Nagorny Karabakh must be considered as inexpedient". On the whole, this Resolution did not satisfy any of the Republics. the situation and the threat of civil war became still more alarming.

MN [MOSCOW NEWS] commentator Andrey Pralnikov asked Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the Special Rule Committee, which is still functioning, to state his opinion on a likely development of events in Nagorno-Karabakh.

In almost every publication on Karabakh one can read the words: "the consequences may prove unpredictable." You too say the same?

[Volskiy] No. This is a universal euphemism when they don't want to say frankly that a tragedy (the death of many people) is likely. But it really is difficult to forecast. Academician Andrey Sakharov admitted: "Now I have come to understand that the Karabakh issue cannot be solved in offices." He said this after visiting Yerevan, Baku and Stepanakert last winter.

Many versions of possible settlements were proposed. People's deputies went to Karabakh; we consulted scientists, spoke with USSR ambassadors in countries experiencing ethnic conflicts. But we found ourselves in the situation we are in now.

[Pralnikov] A year ago, becoming Chairman of the Committee, you believed that the situation will soon be normalized, that it would be possible to withdraw internal troops from Nagorny Karabakh and to restore the economy. What prevented you from accomplishing your goals? What mistakes would you like to correct?

[Volskiy] It was necessary to maintain the normal functioning of the Regional Executive Committee and the regional Party Committee. Having held up the work of the local government, we again assumed the role of "senior brother" who must be thanked for the granted aid, for the advise on how to dispose of it. But people want to regulate their life on their own.

The Committee's functions had to be political and the main task—peacekeeping. But we had to take up all matters concerning industry, agriculture and construction.

Soon it became clear that the Committee's plenary powers are not sufficient.

In practice a paradox of dual power arose: the Committee obeys Moscow, while the enterprises and institutions—the ministries and departments of the Azwerbaijan SSR. We tried to set up independent self-supporting associations, but most Azerbaijanian collectives refused to joint them and, thereby, were no longer subordinated to the Committee. We were accused, on the one hand, of pleasing Armenians, and of pro-Azerbaijaniân policy, on the other. It was demanded that the Committee take tougher measures in respect of participants in the conflict: arrests of punishments. Finally, the leadership of Azerbaijan declared that the Karabakh issue didn't exist at all, that it was the internal affair of the Republic to put things in order. Official propaganda is hushing up stubbornly about the methods they intend to use to settle the conflict, but on the other hand, the leaders of the Popular Front call for cruel repressions against Armenians. This, naturally, arouses a reciprocal reaction.

During the work of the Committee not a single organization or meeting was banned in the region. We were accused of weakness and indecision. We were provoked to force, but the local situation is an indicator by which it is watched whether the policy of perestroyka will manage or if it will slip to cruel, anti-democratic measures.

It hurts me to see soldiers being stoned. But everybody knows what submachine guns can do. Colonel-General A. Makashov also knows. At the Congress of People's Deputies, he said: "I sympathize with Comrade Volskiy who, with Bible in one hand, and Koran in the other, tries to appeal to the conscience of both peoples. We probably ought also to use power there." But what will the power do when women and children are lying on sleepers and not letting trains go to Karabakh?

In Karabakh, Azerbaijan and Armenia we have to deal with mass stress, with well-shaped and established enemy images. In such a state, compromise is perceived only in the form of the enemy's capitulation, whereas all viewpoints are divided into two categories: ours is correct, others' is incorect.

History and life have taught all of us to wait for the decisions to come from Moscow. In this case the Kremlin can't give a salutary formula. The sides themselves have to look for a way out: without this, nothing will come of it. But what had for decades been hammered in, has stuck firmly in heads: "If we start from below, we shall not get help from above."

The Karabakh issue has not been given particular attention from above ever since the early 1920s when the borders of the Republics were thoughtlessly drawn up. But maybe two years ago, when the outburst occurred urgent measures could have been taken to stop the conflict? Maybe the thing is that no political appraisal was given to Sumgait and a feeling of impunity appeared? Was the time missed?

I am sure that the pogroms and outrages had to be condemned more loudly and more strictly. But I don't know the general course of events. The time has been missed, opportunities have been missed in the work with people who have become leaders of ethnic movements, popular fronts. Later it was corrected and we cought up. We met with representatives of public organizations when it was necessary to settle something. I asked for aid, and in the night we moved railway cars loaded with flour through the blockade posts, and returned the cattle which was driven away. For this we had to forego something and overlook something. After all, this is better than blood.

I think that we need as many different contacats as possible, attempts at starting talks, and participation of any reasonable mediators. More materials in papers and TV broadcasts about what is happening in Karabakh, but the authors must know the historical background, the present situation, follow the developments. They ought to know the documents adopted in the Republics. The standard calls to restore friendship—clouded by mutual hatred—will result in nothing except malice. Ane the main thing is to write without lies.

What are your forecasts?

Bill Keller of THE NEW YORK TIMES asked recently what would happen if the troops left? I said imprudently: perhaps something like in Lebanon. So, the newspapers of different countries launched a discussion: will it look more like Lebanon, Cyprus or Ulster? With reference to Ulster, the British government and British troops almost fully remind one about the Special Rule Committee of Nagorny Karabakh with internal troops. The British government doesn't wish to, but is compelled to stay in Norther Ireland, trying to prevent clashes between the sides. The troops entered Ulster 20 years ago.

I am an optimist, but have no hope for a quick solution of the Nagorny Karabakh problem. I only know that everything possible must be done to prevent more bloodshed, to ease the plight of refugees. I repeat, without both sides; readiness to cooperate, Moscow won't be able to find an optimal solution.

The resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet says that a federal control-observer commission must be set up to help the stabilization of the situation in Nagorny Karabakh, to help the government elected by the people.

Primakov, Girenko, Vezirov Hold Meetings in Baku

PM1701122390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[AZERINFORM-TASS report: "Meetings Held"]

[Text] Baku, 16 Jan—The republic's public is widely discussing the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Declaration of a State of Emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Some Other Regions." They see in this decree a way to remedy the extremely unsettled situation in the region. Baku's working people are making great efforts to normalize the situation in the city and end the excesses and disorders.

This morning Ye.M. Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; met with workers of all levels of the Baku city law enforcement organs. Specific areas of work to ensure the universal observance of order and give effective help to people in distress were defined. The instruction was given most resolutely that all available means be used to halt the criminal actions.

There was a pointed conversation at the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. Leaders of ministries and departments and large industrial associations and enterprises in the republic were given tasks to stabilize the situation. It was pointed out that it is necessary to work in every labor collective and mobilize

the city's healthy forces. The personal responsibility of each leader for creating a normal atmosphere in his allotted area of work was emphasized.

A press conference was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in an atmosphere of a frank and honest exchange of opinions during which Ye.M. Primakov and A.-R.Kh. Vezirov answered numerous questions from representatives of the central and republic press, radio, and television. The need for the objective coverage of the events taking place in the region and a balanced approach to them was noted.

A.N. Girenko met and had a conversation with leaders of the republic's women's organizations.

Party, soviet, and law enforcement organs are continuing to work to stabilize the situation.

Primakov, Girenko Meet Law Enforcement Workers

NC1701151590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] The people of the republic are widely debating the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree on the imposition of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and a number of other rayons. Comrades Primakov, Girenko, and Vezirov met with the representatives of all the [word indistinct] workers of the law enforcment organs in Baku yesterday. Concrete measures have been established to safeguard law and order everywhere.

A serious exchange of views was held at the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers. The leading officials of the republic's ministries, main administrations, and large industrial unions and establishments have been assigned tasks related to the question of stabilizing the sitaution.

A press conference was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in an atmosphere fostering an open exchange of views. Primakov and Vezirov replied to the many questions they were asked by representatives of the central press organs and those of the republic and by representatives of the radio and television networks. Girenko also met with the leading officials of the republic's women's organizations. An Azerinform report appears in today's newspapers.

Azerbaijan's Vezirov Meets Reporters

NC1701190490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov addressed reporters who attended a meeting at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee today. He discussed matters related to the extraordinary situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and a number of other rayons. Vezirov also replied to questions from the journalists.

NKAO Official Views Guerrillas' Actions

LD1701194190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Aleksandr Krutov speaks by telephone with Stepanakert:

[Krutov] What effect has the introduction of the state of emergency had upon the general situation?

[Byrkin, press secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous Oblast Special Administration Committee] to tell the truth there has been a special situation in Nagorno-Karabakh for a year and a half now, and extraordinary circumstances for 2 years already. So, for us this is nothing new. But today people are linking certain hopes with the state of emergency. They are hoping blood will stop being spilled and that the blockade of the NKAO will finally be lifted.

Today one cannot yet describe the situation in the oblast itself as being extreme, as it is in several rayons surrounding the NKAO, although it is quite complicated. In the Shaumyanovskiy and Khanlarksiy Rayons of the Azerbaijanian Soviet Socialist Republics [SSR] the situation still remains tense, although substantial forces of internal troops and of the Soviet Army are now gathering there. A large number of guerrillas are still situated in these rayons.

[Krutov] As we know, groups of guerrillas are active on both sides. Has there been any reduction in their number and has it been possible to put an end to their actions?

[Byrkin] In the first (?stage) it was possible to stop their actions, but large numbers of guerrillas of both nationalities have indeed built up now in the region. To make it clearer, the guerrillas are members of armed detachments. According to the assessments of the military commandant's office their numbers are reckoned in the thousands. They are well armed. They have automatic weapons. Many of them are even equipped with flak-jackets. They have combat equipment and guns used for the dispersal of hail-clouds which have already been used, incidentally, for firing at military helicopters. There are guerrillas in the NKAO itself as well. Thus, on the night of 16 January the village of Karadagly in the Martuninskiy Rayon was fired on. Tonight a water line and a pipeline were blown up in two places near Stepanakert. One-third of Stepanakert is now without water. Yesterday, as has been reported at the military commandant's office, a vehicle was detained in the Shushinskiy Rayon carrying five Azerbaijanians. Two Kalashnikov automatic weapons, two hunting guns, and a small-caliber rifle were taken from them. Besides this, 2 kg of hashish and about R350,000 were seized. That is the situation to date.

[Krutov] Judging by the information, I, for one, am increasingly inclined toward the view that the operation

of the state of emergency must also be extended to other rayons to defend the security and the lives of people.

[Byrkin] Yes I, too, believe the state of emergency should have been introduced over a wider territory, in those places, say, where troops are today being blocked in and not let through to the rayons where the state of emergency is in force, apparently even in the city of the republic's capital, Baku. Evacuating people is not a solution. A solution is when people are reliably defended. Overall, one would very much want to hope that peace will nevertheless come to this land, even if it is with the help of a state of emergency.

[Krutov] Thank you.

'People's Front' Agitators Said Active in Baku

LD1701180390 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, Azerbaijan, January 17 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Local law-enforcement forces, supported by federal Interior Ministry troops and the Soviet Army, are taking measures to establish public order and people's safety in the Azerbaijani capital.

Although the situation in the city is less acute today, it remains far from quiet. Classes at many schools today were half-empty, as parents preferred to keep their children at home.

According to the USSR Interior Ministry, there were 64 pogroms in Baku on Tuesday, in which 18 people were injured.

Four burnt bodies were found in the city, and 30 Armenian hostages were released.

Any action by Interior Ministry troops in support of anyone is immediately opposed by crowds incited by people describing themselves as members of the People's Front of Azerbaijan.

On Tuesday, Interior Ministry Captain Yevgeniy Pilyagin for almost three hours held back a crowd of 5,000 people who were preventing him from detaining 10 nationalists.

The nationalists had broken into a flat occupied by a Russian family.

After long negotiations, the officer had to release the nationalists—what else could he do without weapons? The officer and soldiers led the Russians and an Armenian family out of the house, protecting them with shields.

Availing themselves of the difficult situation, criminals are breaking into flats, irrespective of the nationality of the occupants.

In Baku and a number of Azerbaijani areas, unsanctioned rallies were held, at which speakers expressed discontent with the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet which declared a state of emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh and other areas of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Interior Ministry Reports Further on Azerbaijan

LD1701154490 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Soviet Interior Ministry reports that as many as 169 Armenian and Azerbaijanian homes were raided or set on fire in the two republics since the situation became aggravated. Over the same period law enforcement bodies have detained 75 persons who had committed crimes.

In connection with an acute situation in Baku and a number of districts in Azerbaijan and Armenia, local law enforcement bodies, reinforced by troops of the Soviet Interior Ministry and the Soviet Army, are taking measures to ensure public order and safety.

The people in Baku who injured 18 Armenians on January 16 are being identified. Four burned bodies were found in Baku. 30 Armenian hostages were released in the Kirov district.

Unsanctioned rallies were held in Azerbaijan's capital and in a number of districts.

Speakers at rallies expressed annoyance with the decree by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium introducing a state of emergency in the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, adjacent districts of Azerbaijan, the Armenian Goris District, as well as in the frontier belt stretching along the state border on Azerbaijan's territory.

There were demands for the security of the Azerbaijanian population in districts bordering on Armenia.

Extremists and criminals are attempting to aggravate the situation. In the city of Gandzha, formerly Kirovabad, a military airfield and roads to the city were blocked at the call of Azerbaijan's Popular Front.

Near Tazikend village of the Shamkhor district, a group tried to take five tanks from an army unit. The servicemen resorted to arms. Two local residents were wounded. Six factory-made grenades were discovered near the village of Agdam in the Tauz district.

Tension persists in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Highways are being blocked. Trains are not running.

In the Karadagly village unidentified persons fired at two houses. A grenade and a magazine to a submachine gun with 30 cartridges were discovered on the spot. When an army unit checked a bus in the town of Martuni, a pistol and 200 cartridges were taken from the driver.

The situation in many Armenian districts remains acute. In the past day in a number of districts there were 13 raids on guarded posts in order to seize arms.

In Yerevan a group armed with submachine guns attacked a post guarding the Yerevan marshalling yard and seized nine revolvers, a pistol and 1,265 cartridges.

An armed group seized cartridges to sports rifles from a warehouse of the Dynamo sports society.

There were also raids on an office of the Armenian Ministry of Communications, on a militia post in the Ordzhonikidze district in Yerevan, on the district offices of interior affairs in the Nairi and Talin districts.

The raiders seized dozens of various kinds of arms, three bullet- proof jackets, nine helmets, 40 signal flares and various other equipment.

In Ehegnadzor village unidentified persons smashed a monument to the founder of the Soviet state Lenin.

Party, government and law enforcement bodies are taking decisive measures to put an end to violence and stabilize the situation, a report from the Soviet Interior Ministry says.

Homes Fired Upon

LD1701130790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs reports that the situation remains tense in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. In Baku on 16 January, there were 64 pogroms, and there have been 156 since 13 January. The internal affairs bodies and details of servicemen of the internal troops have arrested individuals who took part in these pogroms and other acts of violence. An investigation is underway.

In the Leninsky District of Balakhany village, four bodies were discovered on a garbage dump. The identity of those murdered is being established. In Karadagskiy District, unidentified individuals stole training weapons in State Vocational College No 6. In the town of Gyandzha, groups of individuals have blocked the roads leading out of town.

According to information of the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, some villages in Lachinskiy, Zangelanskiy, and Kazakhskiy rayons continue to be intensively fired on from the territory of the Armenian SSR.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains difficult. Yesterday [16 January] the homes of inhabitants of (Garadaglym) village in Martunsky Rayon were fired on by unknown persons. The situation in the republic as a whole is being controlled by party, soviet, and law enforcement bodies.

Armenian Internal Affairs Minister Interviewed

LD1701193190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] About the situation in the Transcaucasus: A conversation with Armenia's Internal Affairs Minister Usik Surenovich Arutyunyan.

[Unidentified interviewer] How is the state of affairs on the common border between our republic and the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan?

[Arutyunyan] Well, with [the advent of] the well-known events which have now lasted—soon it will be 2 years ago that these interrelations worsened—they spread at once also to the areas near the border. Prigranichnyy ["near the border"] is a term which, of course, is probably more correctly used for borders between states, on the whole, but in this instance this terminology has arisen, unfortunately, and has already become part of our way of life: Prigranichye [noun, meaning "border area"] has come to mean the border area between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The situation is tense: There are provocations, there are skirmishes, exchanges of fire. In virtually all 12 rayons which border on Azerbaijan, skirmishes take place from either side. In Goris Rayon alone, six people died this year—last year, I apologize. No one here had anything to do either with weapons or any problems, on the whole. These were civilians, mainly shepherds who were grazing their cattle. And however much it grieves me, I must say that on either side a murder at once entails a retaliatory murder. This is our trouble, this is our misfortune. But we, and the law enforcement bodies, will have to work more efficiently in order to protect our Soviet people from barbarism, from acts of violence.

At the present time, in accordance with the well known order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, a state of emergency has been imposed in Goris Rayon. In all other rayons we are planning, for the time being, with the participation of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the Soviet Army, again, to introduce a contingent in the required numbers to avert any possible clashes or provocations from either side.

[Interviewer] The reports by our journalist colleagues from Baku say that the most active participants in the events are the persons who left Armenia at the time, persons of Azerbaijani nationality who left Armenia, the so-called refugees...

[Arutyunyan] You understand, the fact itself of the appearance of refugees, of people who up and left the places where they had always lived, is something sad—and that word does not say it all. Indeed, approximately 150,000 Azerbaijanis from Armenia have left for Azerbaijan and approximately double the number of persons of Armenian nationality have arrived on our republic's territory. You understand, I think that the main importance here is not to whip up sentiments, not to reduce to despair people who have had such a hard time and have

gone through so much. Given the desire and training, on the whole, it is possible to throw these people off balance, drive them to commit wrongful acts, etc. But I must say that, on the whole, in our republic, refugees from Azerbaijan do not pose any threat of crime situations arising on an interethnic basis. Large-scale work is being conducted with them. And with the directorate which has been set up attached to the Council of Ministers, we are trying in this most difficult situation in the republic to find, on the whole, minimal living conditions; minimal, because, you understand yourself, this is a very complicated question.

Armenia Transportation Problems Updated

LD1701212490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Yerevan by correspondent V. Nazaryan—recorded]

[Text] The situation in Armenia has, as a whole, remained stable today. All enterprises, institutions, shops, and transport were working in Yerevan, as throughout the whole republic—but the latter sector, even to judge from these video clips, is admittedly working far from smoothly. There is no petrol—virtually none—not even for ambulances. In spite of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree declaring a state of emergency in the region—as we know, it came into force at 2300 on 15 January—not a single train carrying freight has reached Armenia along the Azerbaijan railway even in the last period of almost 48 hours. [Video shows people lining up for public transport; an empty gas station; an idle railway junction]

On the other hand, there has been an increase again in the flow of refugees, witnesses, and victims of the recent excesses and pogroms in Baku and other regions of Azerbaijan. There are now 72 people in Yerevan's hospitals, 20 of them in a serious condition. Unfortunately, one of the victims, 19-year-old Arusyak Markosyan from Baku, died last night.

[Video shows outside view of City Emergency Hospital, patients inside with plastered limbs and bruised faces]

New aircraft with refugees are constantly arriving at Zvartnots Airport in Yerevan. There have been more than 2,000 of them in the last 3 days. This flight from Krasnovodsk has brought over 150 more people.

[Video shows Zvartnots control tower; women, children, and elderly men descending gangway]

People's tears are being shed, and blood is being shed—and not only that of Armenians. My colleague has already told of Captain Viktor Spiridonov, who defended the Armenian village of Manashid in Shaumyanovsiy rayon, Azerbaijan, from attack. We met Viktor at the Yerevan Traumatological and Orthopedic Scientific Research Institute, where a complex surgical operation has been performed on him.

[Spiridonov] Tough and resolute measures must be taken to impose order, because we are on the verge of a civil war. [Video shows Spiridonov lying in hospital bed with his right arm in cast]

Armenian Blockade Problems

PM1701170990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent S. Bablumyan: "Republic May Be Left Without Fuel or Food as a Result of Blockade"]

[Text] Yerevan—It is cold in Yerevan's apartments today. There is no longer anything with which to refuel the boiler house furnaces in Armenia. Pressure in the main gas pipeline, which in part passes across Azerbaijan's territory, has dropped drastically. The units of the Yerevan heat and electric power station are rotating for the last few times, scarcely fed by the gas pumped by force from the reserve stores. As was to be expected, electricity consumption has soared, but even it is in extremely short supply—energy establishments have been left without fuel oil. This is the result of the blockade.

O. Daniyelyan, secretary of the Yerevan City party committee, tells the story:

"Virtually the entire city's industry is at a standstill. Nothing is coming into the republic along the Azerbaijan railroad and similarly nothing is being taken out. A very complex situation has arisen in hospitals, schools, and children's institutions. Lines for food and necessities are growing in the stores. This situation cannot be tolerated any longer."

Before filing this report I toured many of Yerevan's gas stations. There are no lines there because there is no gasoline. As administration chief G. Saakyan reported from the republican petroleum products association, if no fuel arrives today or tomorrow, very grave complications will arise regarding the refuelling of emergency aid automobiles and all transport for the life-saving system. My interlocutor asked me to convey thanks to the railroad workers of Georgia, who have held out a helping hand to Armenia.

Grain Products Minister R. Shakhbazyan:

"I can assure you that there will be no difficulties with bread. We have learned the bitter lesson of preceding blockades and have laid in everything necessary. It is true that from time to time bakeries' power supplies are being cut off, but in such cases we switch to reserve fuel."

And what about the zone which suffered from the earthquake? Alas, construction has been completely suspended there. It is not hard to imagine what it is like for the people living in freezing cold temporary structures.

Baku Situation Extremely Violent

PM1701201190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent V. Litovkin and S. Mostovshchikov report from Baku: "Road to Nowhere..."]

[Text] 17 Jan—The events taking place in Baku shock the majority of the indigenous population of the capital of Azerbaijan, which until recently was considered a model of hospitality and a good-neighborly attitude toward people. Everyone we have talked to in the past 24 hours has been at a loss to understand how this sort of thing can be happening here. Eyewitnesses recount how people were thrown out of windows and out of houses, clubbed to death with iron bars, and stabbed with knives. Grown men do not hide their fear when they relate how a few days ago at the railroad station four people were burned alive.

We visited the local internal forces convoy battalion, which in "peacetime" transports prisoners and guards defendants during court proceedings. Now the detachment is confined to barracks. It has new tasks. If a report comes in of another pogrom in the city, some of the personnel travel to the scene. Soldiers, officers, and warrant officers also accompany Armenian refugees to the seaport for evacuation by ferry or to the airport, where servicemen of other subunits or the militia take over their protection. Many officers and warrant officers are sheltering in their own homes Armenian families who either have no money to depart, or simply have nowhere to go.

"This is by no means a safe thing to do," Captain Aleksandr Buzdanov, commander of the battalion's third company, says. "Attempts have been made to wreck the appartments of many of our officers in retaliation. Yesterday they warned us: They will take women hostage and will drive them ahead of the mob to attack the sea terminal used as an assembly point for the Armenian refugees. Our special detachments were on the go the whole night."

Fortunately, matters went no further than threats. However, most officers are sending their relations out of Azerbaijan. But it is very difficult to leave Baku at the moment.

Local inhabitants agree in the opinion that the main cause of the disturbances in Baku are Azerbaijanis who fled from Armenia. According to available information, there are several tens of thousands of them here. They were forced to leave mainly rural areas and have mostly been unable to find work in Baku and have no permanent residences. Until recently, no effort at all was made to resolve their problems. And many people think, not without reason, that this is precisely one of the causes of the unprecedented anger. The fact that people are now taking matters into their own hands and moving into the Armenians' looted apartments seems to back up this theory. The aforementioned Captain Buzdanov told us that the apartment next door to his, from which an Armenian family fled some 6 months ago after a nighttime visit, is now inhabited by Azerbaijanis.

Captain G. Kanarskiy from the same battalion, who was called out several times during the past 24 hours to deal with pogroms and capture raiders (incidentally, they included Azerbaijanis looting the apartments of other Azerbaijanis), told us that servicemen are under strict orders not to use weapons, and even not to carry them. Kanarskiy believes that this situation cannot be described as normal, since the troops are unable to properly rebuff the extremists. In his opinion, it is necessary to introduce a curfew in Baku. Otherwise the result may be unfortunate.

As is known, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree introducing the state of emergency adopted the other day advised the republic government to introduce a curfew in Baku. However, no such decision has been made so far.

There are many sad sights in the world, but probably one of the most painful ones is to see people leaving their homes. And there are thousands upon thousands of them in Baku today.

We spent last night at the Baku ferry port. People leaving by sea for Krasnovodsk were waiting in the drizzling rain in and around numerous buses for the arrival of the ferry "Sovetskaya Gruziya." Men, women, children, and old people, mainly old people. We talked to one of them named Aleksandr Nikolayevich Tsadurov. He is 80. He was born in Baku, he grew up here and lived through all the difficulties which befell the city and its inhabitants in the course of all these years, he worked in oil prospecting and extraction. The famous steel island amidst the raging sea—Neftyanyye Kamni—is also a part of his biography of which he has always been proud. And now...

"Where are we to go?" he asks with grief. "How will we live—I have no idea."

Next to him is his son, a software engineer, his daughter-in-law, until recently bookkeeper at the republic Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee, and their children, his grandchildren—7-year-old Lilya and 5-year-old Edik. And other relations of the Tsadurovs.

"All our friends, and they include not only Armenians but also Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ukrainians, and Greeks, live here in Baku," Aleksandr Nikolayevich explains, "we do not have any friends anywhere else in the country. This is a road to nowhere for us..."

Others are suffering the same grief. And although they are maintaining their dignity and are keeping calm, one cannot help but sense the utter pain of their tragedy.

Yet these people are alive. But in our notebooks we have details of the dead and of the outrages taking place in the city, the wrecked houses, the battles on the republic's borders, and the blood that is being shed on the highways

and in the villages of Khanlarskiy, Lachinskiy, and other border rayons. Helicopters, armored personnel carriers... Dead and wounded, burned houses. The troops moving around the battle area are encountering roadblocks. People are trying not to let them through...

Violence breeds violence. Gunfire on the border is echoed by assaults in Baku and battles in Karabakh and other areas. Is it not apparent that escalation is a road that leads nowhere! Everyone is demanding an end to the bloodshed.

We were approached by some men.

"From IZVESTIYA?" they asked. "The events in our city have been building up for a long time. Why has the central press stayed silent?"

There is a great deal of criticism of newspapers, radio, and television in Azerbaijan. There is a lot, we know, in the neighboring republic too. We tried to explain this to our opponents. They did not listen. Or, rather, they did not hear us. Passions were running so high.

We have with us a newspaper which has in it the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Declaring a State of Emergency on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Some Other Areas," which demands that the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium take resolute steps to stop the inflammatory actions on the territory of this republic, which are kindling interethnic passions and ethnic hostility between the two peoples.

We saw people carefully studying the document and reading every line of the reports from the two republics.

It is paradoxical: Everyone is waiting for new information and demanding facts, and... then they start putting their own contruction on what they have read. Alas, it is extremely difficult for central papers' special correspondents to get an absolutely complete and objective picture even on the spot: It is almost impossible to contact many parts of the republic and it is very difficult to get to them. It is particularly hard for photographers. Often there are ugly scenes as soon as the photographers bring out their cameras.

But patrolling members of the Azerbaijan Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] Internal Affairs Transport Administration and troops of the USSR MVD internal forces are ready for the unexpected. There have been no ugly scenes on the ferry. This was confirmed by Militia Colonel R. Kuliyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Internal Affairs Transport Administration, and Lieutenant Colonel M. Atabayev, commander of a USSR MVD internal forces subunit. There is a buffet, a tearoom, and a cafeteria. Neighbors, Azerbaijanis, also came to see the refugees off. We were told that the "Sovetskaya Gruziya" was the second ferry crossing to the eastern shore of the Caspian that day. The Caspian Steamship Company is bearing the transportation expenses. The people will be taken free of charge from Krasnovodsk to the place of their choice. In the past day a total of 1,550 people have been evacuated by sea from Baku and 200 by air. The organized evacuation of refugees continues.

A few more figures: Some 7,720 militia officers, 5,900 USSR MVD internal troops, 1,320 people in worker detachments voluntarily assisting the militia, and more than 2,000 volunteer people's militia personnel are involved in protecting public order. This quantity of people is justified—the situation remains extremely complex and tense.

This was also discussed at an Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee press conference conducted by Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, and A.-R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. It was an acrimonious discussion. There was much talk here about the need for every printed word to be objective and balanced. About one-sidedness and claims to have the ultimate truth being another road that leads nowhere....

In yesterday's report we told of a tragedy resulting from a major landslide that hit the premises of the Caspian Naval Flotilla.

All the flotilla's subunits reponded immediately to the alarm. A group of seamen headed by officer I. Kuzin was first on the scene of the tragedy. A 120-tonne crane arrived from the Baku mechanization administratioin.

Despite the difficult situation in the city, the people of Baku did not ignore the latest tragedy. Help was provided by emergency medical personnel, doctors at the Caspian Steamship Company hospital, and citizens.

Armed Clashes Described

PM1701121590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 p 1

["Own information" report under general heading "Transcaucasia, 15 January"]

[Excerpt]

Baku

[Passage omitted] An extremely complex situation has taken shape in Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanovskiy Rayons, where, after a helicopter airdrop of raiders, overt armed clashes between the rival sides have broken out. Hostilities continued yesterday. Armenians seized 60 Azerbaijani hostages, and Azerbaijani raiders attacked the Armenian villages of Azad, Kamo, and Chaykend. An alarming situation has developed in Gyandzha (the former Kirovobad), where rallies and demonstrations started after dead and wounded Azerbaijanis from Shaumyanovskiy Rayon were brought there.

Shots can also be heard in the border area. Near Gearchi village in Kubatlinskiy Rayon a group of raiders fired at two shepherds, and another group shot at an internal

forces guard in Kerki village, Ilichevskiy Rayon, in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Rallies have been held in recent days in many cities and rayons in Azerbaijan at which the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and questions of the establishment of national defense committees have been discussed. There was an attempt to attack an Army arms and munitions dump on the outskirts of Baku 13 January.

Over 7,000 Armenians Evacuated From Baku

LD1701190590 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy:

By this evening more than 7,000 Armenians were evacuated from Baku, the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan. In connection with the wave of anti-Armenian pogroms in this major Transcaucasian city, they received an opportunity to leave for other regions of the USSR, using ferries of the Caspian Sea-Shipping Company. This official data was cited at a news conference held at the Central Committee of the Azerbaijanian Communist Party. The figures refute foreign mass media reports alleging that Armenians cannot leave Baku.

With a feeling of bitterness, a large group of refugees left their home city for Krasnovodsk by "Soviet Tajikistan" ferry. Refugees said in a TASS interview that they were forced to flee from Baku because of inter-ethnic disturbances.

At the same time many of them recalled with gratitude their fellow-townsmen, friends and neighbours who, irrespective of nationality, extended a helping hand to them during these difficult days.

Flee to Armenia, Moscow

LD1701172690 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Over 2,000 refugees arrived in the past three days in Armenia from Azerbaijan where ethnic clashes continue. Most of them, when fleeing, had no time even to take warm clothes.

A special republican commission formed in Yerevan is giving relief to refugees and providing them with temporary housing and jobs.

The ferry service between Baku and Krasnovodsk has been very busy the past three days. Ships with Armenian refugees, who had to flee from Baku, arrive at this Turkmenian port.

More than 1,500 refugees arrived in Krasnovodsk on board *Sovetskaya Nakhichevan* and *Sovetskaya Kalmykia* on January 16. People arriving in Turkmenia are accommodated and provided with free food and medical services.

A canteen and a snack-bar at the passenger terminal are open around the clock. Ambulances are on duty. A telegraph and telephone office was set up.

All the refugees have been given an opportunity to travel to other cities. Those who have relatives or friends in Krasnovodsk stay with them.

It was learnt at the centre for aid to refugees that warm clothing and funds are being collected. Order is maintained at the passenger terminal.

Dozens of Armenians who fled from Azerbaijan are now staying on the premises of Armenia's mission at the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow. Having fled from bloodshed and pogroms that took place in the Azerbaijanian capital in recent days, they found temporary shelter in Moscow.

"It was a nightmare", they say, hardly able to fight back tears. They say that during pogroms in Baku people were thrown out windows, killed with iron rods, stabbed with knives or burned alive.

"Representatives of Moscow take an active part in the work of the special governmental commission", Yuriy Vinogradov, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, told TASS. "all the municipal services are prepared to render the needed assistance to refugees from Azerbaijan. More than a thousand Armenians are staying in Moscow from last year. I will make no secret that this fact and on the whole an acute social tension in Moscow make it difficult to accept a new stream of Armenian refugees arriving from Baku and other cities".

Houses Being Looted

PM1701142190 Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 1, 4

[V. Belykh dispatch under "We Report the Details" rubric: "Alarming Days and Nights"]

[Text] Baku, 17 Jan—The night of 15-16 January in Baku was deceptively quiet and calm. A rare car sped down a deserted street, and occasionally you could see servicemen wearing flak jackets and carrying nightsticks standing in the shadows. One very much wanted to believe that, finally, the evil conflagration of pogroms and fratricidal clashes had begun to subside. Alas, the morning bulletins were still alarming: The situation remains tense. By yesterday morning 11 dead had been discovered in the city. A further 18 had been injured. As a rule, they are the victims of the 45 pogroms that have taken place. In order to avoid such happenings in the future, the evacuation of people of Armenian origin continues from Baku. According to the latest information, over the past 48 hours 2,099 people have been

evacuated by sea and air. People are hurriedly leaving their homes, which are, quite often, looted.

The emergency situation in Baku is fraught with even more terrible explosions that may occur at any time. Incidentally, the situation throughout the republic's territory is critical, especially in areas neighboring on the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Armed clashes between representatives of Azerbaijani and Armenian nationality are constantly breaking out. Here are just a few examples of the past 24 hours.

Seidlyar village in Zangelanskiy rayon came under fire. There are no casualties.

Gadzhilar village in Lachinskiy rayon was shelled. There are dead and injured.

On the morning of 15 January several thousand people of Armenian nationality carried out an armed attack and completely cut off Kirki village in Ilichevskiy Rayon, Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. Five houses were burned down. Internal forces detachments were sent to the scene, following which the situation here has relatively stabilized.

Many population centers are now effectively out of control. In Gyandzha city, for instance, armed men are walking around openly, without bothering to hide. The approaches to the city are blocked to thwart the transfer of internal forces subunits to the city. In the vicinity, clashes between Armenian and Azerbaijani detachments are under way. The fighters are wearing steel helmets, flak jackets, and fatigues. Bursts of machinegunfire can be heard.

Both sides are feverishly arming themselves. At the republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] samples of the equipment of local formations were displayed. They included various explosive devices, grenades, rifles, sawed-off shotguns, carbines, automatic weapons, smoke pots, signal flares, and home-made mortars. There have been cases where the air defense guns of the city defense service have been used.

During unloading operations at Zazaly station representatives of the NFA [Azerbaijan People's Front] seized four tanks, their crews, and three guards. Fortunately, none of the servicemen carried weapons. The combat vehicles were driven through a number of villages, then common sense prevailed. The tanks were driven onto the territory of a petroleum installation and together with the servicemen handed over intact to the military authorities.

Weapons and munitions from other regions are also arriving. On 15 January at Dzhulfa station on the Azerbaijan Railroad, large quantities of explosives were discovered in two freight cars heading from Chelyabinsk to Araratskiy Rayon in the Armenian SSR.

Hostilities are taking place on an ever increasing scale. Eyewitnesses speak of orange helicopters without identification marks which fly in from behind the mountains and do not respond to the ground control questions. They subject Azerbaijani villages to automatic and submachinegunfire and launch rockets. There have been cases of these helicopters airdropping armed bearded fighters who have attacked the local population.

According to information from the Azerbaijan SSR MVD, the outskirts of Khanlar city, where two people were killed, and Todan village (where one person was killed and several injured) came under helicopter fire.

In contrast with the raiders' helicopters, the army equipment remains grounded. The NFA has threatened pilots with reprisals against their families if they take off in their machines. Helicopters rushed in from other regions also remain immobile—the command does not want to exacerbate the situation unnecessarily and further agitate the local population. For the same reason neither tanks nor armored personnel carriers are in evidence in the streets of Baku, although several military vehicles have already been put out of action during the clashes.

"Certain forces which are seeking the further development of the conflict," Anatoliy Kirilyuk, deputy chief of the internal forces political directorate, told me, "clearly want us to open fire and take ill-considered steps. We are doing everything in our power to prevent this."

Maybe all this is right, but you cannot help feeling queasy when during this prestorm atmosphere you see small groups of servicemen in the streets of Baku equipped with nothing more than their rubber nightsticks. If anything happened, if they came under fire, they would not only not be able to defend the civilian population, but not even themselves.

Questions of personal security concern everyone here today. Alas, this has not bypassed journalists either. Certain forces are very interested in hampering their work in every way. A telephoto lens smashed to smithereens under a jacket saved the ribs of one reporter from a blow with an iron bar, other people have also had their equipment destroyed. Some people have had their documents taken away, others their notebooks, and some were saved from the actions of a frenzied mob only by the efficient actions of servicemen and officers of the internal forces.

So what is going to happen next? A report has just come in that on the border between Lachinskiy and Kubatlinskiy Rayons a large concentration of trucks carrying raiders has been noticed. In Baku a rally has been held at which demands have been made to arm citizens and dispatch them to NKAO and areas borderning on Armenia.

It is evening in Azerbaijan. Darkness is falling on the streets of Baku. What will tomorrow bring?

Presidium 'Had To' Adopt Azerbaijan Decree

PM1701114390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Yuriy Shabanov commentary under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Ending the Violence"]

[Text] Blood has been spilled again.... I wrote down this phrase and recoiled in horror, realizing what a commonplace it has become on the pages of newspapers and journals, in radio and television broadcasts, and in conversations. What is this, a relapse into twisted thinking? I have heard it said more than once that interethnic strife leading to bloodshed, just like social explosions and empty shelves in stores, incidentally, are a natural phenomenon, a sort of sacrifice that has to be made for perestroyka. That they are something that allegedly has to be endured.

I cannot agree that perestroyka demands such sacrifices, nor do I want to. That would no longer be "perestroyka" but "perestrelka" [firefight] as someone has caustically remarked. True, we are speaking of revolution in our country. But not a revolution with machineguns slung over the sholder or petrol bombs being hurled.

Yet it has come to this: In peacetime we are counting combat losses. And, hard to conceive, we are declaring a state of emergency in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and some other areas. An emergency measure, a forced measure, but it is because the situation in the region is also an emergency situation: Cities and villages come under fire, hostages are taken, disturbances occur on the border, an attempt to topple a local soviet by force of arms is made. The country's supreme organ of state power, responding to people's grief, did not have the right not to adopt the decree on the introduction of the state of emergency, it simply had to do it. Because, despite all the measures that had been adopted earlier, the situation was not returning to normal, reason had not gotten the better of emotions. It is painful, but it has to be admitted that force is having to be used to stop hostility. Force for the sake of life, force for the sake of humaneness. Force aimed not at bloodshed but at preventing it. How soon the state of emergency is lifted will depend on both sides involved in the conflict. On their understanding that the "enemy" is within us, that it lies in our tragic past, and that it is this "enemy" that has to be conquered.

Many of us were born during the Stalin era or during the period of stagnation. They, too, fostered interethnic strife by believing that it was possible to drive whole peoples from their native lands and subsequently to officially announce that the "nationality question" had been resolved once and for all. The bureaucratic steamroller mercilessly crushed national soil and replaced it with anonymous asphalt produced in departmental cauldrons. An attempt to standardize everything from the economy to people's souls. Unfortunately, souls cannot be steamrollered. The seeds of dissatisfaction which sprouted in them forced their way through the badly laid asphalt, so that finally we became aware of a whole bush of long overdue problems.

National dignity is a very delicate matter, it is easily wounded and smarts for a long time. One grievance is followed by another, which need not be ethnic in character at all, and then another—and the view forms in the subconscious that the nation is being insulted.

A vengeful mob is blind, it does not know where it is going. However, those who are leading it down the wrong path are perfectly aware of where they are going. Therefore our just anger must be directed at them. For the spilled blood and the blind hatred; and for the pseudo-patriotism which preaches love of only oneself on one's own land, claiming that others need not be loved.

I believe that in reviving the dignity of all the nations it is necessary to strengthen what unites them, our federation, our Union. True, every nation must be able to develop freely, and perestroyka provides broad scope for this. Only in this way can we achieve a humane and democratic society. Trusting each other and looking each other squarely in the face.

Are reciprocal recriminations and attempts to find the enemy in a neighboring people perhaps a soil on which mutual understanding can thrive? No, it is they, exaggerated out of all proportion, which give rise to alienation, violence, and bloodshed. Then no one feels like bringing out the white flag of harmony. Rage blinds people, it clouds their reason, it colors sacred patriotic feelings in motley nationalistic hues and turns the language of arms into the only language of communication. However, it is a language of discord, a language of enmity. As long as blood is flowing, people's ears and eyes will remain closed and prevent them from understanding each other.

Only by ending the violence and ensuring law and order will we manage to calm the interethnic feuds. People are exhausted, the land on which they live is exhausted: Deprived of human care, it is growing poorer by the day. Look into the faces of the Azerbaijani and Armenian old men and women and the women and children. They reflect torment, fear, and pain. Look at and arrest the hand of those who have raised the sword of violence and reciprocal hatred above their heads. This is a call for reason, for the rallying of all healthy forces. It is a call to conscience.

MVD Issues Azerbaijan, Armenia Status Report

PM1701163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] Reports"]

[Text] Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. Some 64 pogroms in apartments in which Armenians were living were uncovered in Baku 16 January. Some 18 people suffered as a result of the atrocities. The internal

affairs organs are conducting an investigation to identify the pogromists. In the republican capital's Leninskiy Rayon four charred and as yet unidentified bodies have been discovered. In the past day 30 Armenian hostages have been released.

In a number of regions of the republic meetings have taken place whose participants have expressed dissatisfaction with the decree "On the Declaration of a State of Emergency" adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. At the appeal of the People's Front the local airfield was blocked in Gyandzha City. In Tazikend village, Shamkhorskiy Rayon, a group of people tried to stop five armored personnel carriers and the troops had to use their weapons. As a result, two local inhabitants were wounded. In Agdam village, Tauzskiy Rayon, six factory-produced grenades were discovered.

In the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast all motor roads are blocked, and freight is not being allowed through to the railroad station either. In Karadogly village unidentified people fired on two apartment blocks. There were no casualties. In Martuni City, during the search of a bus a pistol and 200 cartridges were confiscated from the driver.

Armenian SSR. In Yerevan a group of people carried out an armed attack using automatic weapons against the guardroom of the paramilitary guard at the "Yerevan-Sortirovochnaya" [Yerevan shunting yard] railroad station. Some 9 revolvers, 1 pistol, and 1,265 cartridges were taken. Cartridges for sporting rifles were stolen at the "Dinamo" voluntary sports society. There have been attacks on militia rayon departments in Yerevan's Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon and the republic's Nairiyskiy and Talinskiy Rayons.

In Yekhegnadzor settlement unidentified people destroyed the monument to V.I. Lenin.

Afghanistan Veterans Among Azeris Attacking Troops

PM1601164990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 p 1

[Own special correspondent O. Shapovalov report under general heading "Transcaucasia, 15 January"]

[Text]

Stepanakert

The situation in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and neighboring areas deteriorated sharply during Sunday and Monday. Major General Yu. Kosolapov, commandant of the special district, believes that unless martial law is declared without delay it will be impossible to avoid major bloodshed. We are afraid to say it aloud, but what is happening here, in Karabakh, in Northern Azerbaijan, at the moment, can unequivocally be described as civil war.

On Sunday I accompanied Lieutenant Colonel V. Velikin, commander of an internal forces operational detachment stationed in Stepanakert, on a reconnaissance trip. The task is to prepare the defense of Stepanakert from the direction of Agdam. The population is helping the military. Watch towers are being erected, men are digging trenches on the outskirts of villages. However, this is only one of the possible directions from which an attack may be launched by the thugs who are converging on Stepanakert with the aim of "establishing order."

The most serious situation has taken shape in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, where raiders seized an armored personnel carrier and an infantry fighting vehicle and a number of hostages from among internal troops servicemen. Before being recaptured and neutralized, the armored personnel carrier managed to do a lot of damage. Near Azad village a "Zhiguli" car carrying Militia Battalion Captain Osetrov and his Comrades Morozov, Fedotov, and Prizhimkin, came under fire from a heavy-caliber machinegun and was subsequently crushed by the armored personnel carrier. No bodies were found at the scene of this barbaric massacre.

Major V. Zarudnev, commander of a Mi-8 helicopter relates:

I took off with a detachment of special-purpose troops on board in search of the armored personnel carrier. We sighted it near Adzhikend village. The battle was brief. We knocked out the armored personnel carrier with rocket launchers. What surprised me, however, was the skilled, precise actions of those below. As the helicopter approached they hid behind the armored vehicle and they fired after us. They wounded my navigator, Senior Lieutenant N. Pavlov. I have fought in Afghanistan and I can tell combat experience. It seems those people had such experience.

The pilot's opinion is borne out by operational data. According to information in the possession of the NKAO special rayon commandant's office, thugs dressed in internal forces uniform and well armed are concentrated in the area of Manashid, Azad, and Adzhikend villages. It is painful to write this, but people who have fought in Afghanistan are also being enlisted in this kind of detachments. Incidentally, the conditions are similar: Mountains and ravines.... This is another memento of Afghanistan.

An internal force column, reinforced with tanks, is on its way to Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. I cannot disagree with the special district commandant: In this sort of situation even a minute's delay spells bloodshed.

Army Faces 'Provocations' in Azerbaijan

PM1801091190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by N. Belan: "Shots in the Darkness"]

[Text] Gyandzha, Azerbaijan SSR, 15 Jan—"It is my profound belief that there are forces who are trying to

cause a collision between the population of the city, and, indeed, of its environs, and the Army," this is Gyandzha Party City Committee Secretary S. Guseynova's description of the current situation.

What this could mean in the difficult and already tense situation in the region needs no explanation, I trust.

On Saturday evening I was at the People's Front headquarters. It was busy forming detachments of 20-30 people, some being sent to patrol the highways, others being sent as reinforcements to the border between Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanovskiy Rayons, where battles are raging.

"It has all gotten worse in recent years, since the Nagorno-Karabakh issue came up, since thousands of refugees started pouring in on both sides," Guseynova said. "But it flared up after the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] adoption of those well-known resolutions last December. These acts, which do not accord with the USSR Constitution, added fuel to the fire."

This was confirmed by A. Sadykhov, one of the leaders of the local People's Front. "The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium gave an unequivocal assessment of the December acts on Nagorno-Karabakh," I said to him. "What do you see as your main aim now?"

"To protect our villages and women and children. They are being shot at from helicopters and by snipers. If the center cannot do it, then we will defend them."

Then he said:

"They are using the Army against us. People in uniform are being set down by unmarked helicopters. They have submachineguns, grenade launchers, and flak jackets. When our people first saw them they thought they were soldiers. They did not shoot, deciding that they had come to make peace, to afford protection. But they approached and opened fire at point-blank range. In the past 2 days—yesterday and today—four people have been killed and several have been wounded."

M. Kakhramanov, a 23-year-old, who has just returned from the village of Todan in Khanlarskiy Rayon, picks up the story:

"I live in Gyandzha myself. We were called to Todan to bring out some women, old men, and children. We were attacked and shot at by two people wielding submachineguns. Then helicopters, each bearing a yellow stripe, arrived and opened fire. We also came under mortar fire—I served in the artillery, so I couldn't be mistaken. The arrivals were wearing soldiers' uniforms."

I went to the city hospital, where the militiamen wounded in the area had been taken.

"I too saw people in military uniform, but they were not soldiers," one of them, Militia Captain B. Nabiyev said. "They were set down by a helicopter with a red cross on its body. They were operating in a random group with civilians and they had long hair—you will not find soldiers with hair like that. In my opinion, they were masquerading as soldiers."

As night fell on Saturday, someone dressed in a military uniform was brought to Khanlar—he had been taken prisoner. He was an Armenian. An airborne assault force officer who saw him told me that he was wearing civilian clothing underneath his jacket and pants. The stranger would not answer any questions and merely smiled grimly. His current whereabouts are not known; I tried to find him, but it was no easy task: I repeat, the situation is very complex here and some places you cannot get to right away.

Who is he? What kind of people are operating in military uniforms—according to various sources, including competent bodies, there are around 100? Whose helicopters are flying over the mountains and strafing Azerbaijani villages? Who is sending them? I am sure these questions will be answered very soon, so we will not indulge in any conjecture here. But it is a fact that people are already looking askance at the Army because of them. Increasingly officers are hearing local people say: "We don't believe you." Although the Army has received an unequivocal order: Do not use weapons, do not get involved in local events, and do not respond to provocation.

But the extremists' provocative actions are becoming more and more persistent and more and more serious.

"When you write make sure you emphasize that they have nothing to do with the People's Front," I was told by its leaders and by people at the city party committee. In every city there are hooligans, criminals, and people who do not realize what they are doing.

The military appreciates this. So they keep a tight leash on their pain and bitter feelings. And they are acute, believe me. On Saturday, as I was leaving the hospital, I encountered a group of Azerbaijanis—they were running away, dragging a young officer, who was leaving a trail of blood behind him. I later found out that it was Lieutenant Aleksandr Chusov. He had received several knife wounds when he was leading an ammunition column from the railroad station to a unit. The column was stopped by a large group of people, the officer started to parley with them, then suddenly shots were fired in the darkness. Lieutent Chusov has now had his third operation, but his condition remains grave.

I want to digress and talk about the ammunition train that arrived at the station near Gyandzha (the name they now use for Kirovabad)—a scheduled delivery for daily combat training needs. But there is one thing I and the military do not understand: who was the "bright spark" who decided to circulate the rumor that the ammunition had been brought to kill Azerbaijanis. It took a long time and a great deal of patience to reassure people and refute the absurd allegations. What a risk the officers and men were taking when they unloaded the train and ferried the

contents to the unit's stores. Only with the help of the city party committee and the People's Front was it possible to carry out this work and defuse the situation.

On Sunday, it has just been reported from Baku, there were attacks on soldiers' families. Incidentally, here too, in Gyandzha, around 200 people burst into the living quarters of officers' and warrant officers' families, but two companies of soldiers got there in time and no conflict occurred. A company was disarmed at the Baku Garrison—what forces are hard at working arming themselves?

Private Valeriy Tinyakov was assaulted on Sunday in Gyandzha. Performing his unit mailman duties, he was on his way to the mail office for the newspapers. Four young people surrounded him and stabbed him several times in the back. The soldier was saved by his flak jacket beneath his uniform jacket. Valeriy is alive and well. All he got was a cut on his hand fending off a blow from the knife.

On 14 January an internal forces helicopter was shot at. A crew member was wounded.

It has just been reported that another five people have been killed in the battle area our paper described on Sunday. Unmarked helicopters were in evidence again.

I repeat that these events are distressing and tragic for both peoples... Armenian and Azerbaijani. No one equates the extremist groups with a particular people. I was told this by local people and by the military. But the fact remains that in the past 2 or 2 and ½ days the Army has been increasingly provoked, people trying to involve it in the tragedy—this is the essence of the altered situation. In view of the fact that certain people are expressing a lack of confidence in the internal forces (each side wants them to defend it alone and each side is zealously observing the internal troops' actions), the Army is remaining for the moment a neutral, but stabilizing force. It is the only way. The conflict can only be resolved by means of a political dialogue. And although the events have gone far, it is still possible to stabilize the situation. People are expecting radical sociopolitical measures. The military are expecting them too.

CPSU Condolences Concerning Baku Unrest

LD1701191690 Moscow TASS in English 1909 GMT 17 Jan 90

["CPSU CC, Soviet Government—Condolences"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government express heartfelt condolences to families of the dead and profound sympathy to all those affected by recent unrest.

Tragic developments took place recently in Baku and in some areas of Armenia which caused tremendous anxiety among Soviet people, said the message. There was bloodshed and the loss of life among Armenians, Azerbaijanis and people of other nationalities.

The country's leadership shares the indignation of Soviet people over the atrocities and crimes. It is taking appropriate measures to end the violence, restore law and order, give material assistance to victims and strictly punish culprits.

Soldiers Wounded in Arms Seizure Attempt in Armenia

NC1701171790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1540 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Report by Radik Grigoryan from Megri—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Grigoryan] Just a short time ago a helicopter landed at Megri [town in southern Armenia] airport and we met Robert Megrabyan, first secretary of the Megrinskiy Rayon party committee, and Zori Balayan, USSR people's deputy.

Comrade Megrabyan, please tell us about the incident which took place tonight in Megri.

[Megrabyan] Yes, a deplorable incident took place at the Megri train station; an exchange of fire occurred as a result of which three soldiers of the Soviet Army were wounded. Our local people provided immediate first aid and the soldiers were taken to a hospital. They have now regained consciousness. We must now send them to Yerevan by helicopter for medical care. A criminal investigation has been launched. The whole population is working to uncover the malefactors who probably committed this act to seize arms—this assumption arises from the fact that they were in fact able to carry away one weapon. Of course, the investigatation will reveal the truth. At present our internal affairs department, procuracy, and the representative of the Internal Affairs Ministry are investigating. Still, it is hard for me to believe that those responsible can be residents of Megri or Armenians. This is because in recent months, and particularly in the last few days, under these tense conditions, all residents have became convinced that the subunits of the Interior Affairs Ministry are our protectors and we have very close ties with them.

[Grigoryan] So there was no reason for the attack.

[Megrabyan] There was no reason to launch an attack against the servicemen of the Internal Affairs Ministry. We even exchanged information with the servicemen and if there was any danger of a crisis, we used to come out together to face the encroachments of our neighbors. I myself cannot believe it. Anyway, the investigation will clarify matters. Let us be patient and we will see.

[Grigoryan] What do you have to say about this [word indistinct]?

[Balayan] I arrived in Yerevan from Karabakh just yesterday. I heard this morning from Comrade Megrabyan that such an incident had taken place in Megri. I immediately came here. We were already

receiving plenty of information in Stepanakert, Martakert, Shaumyanov, Getashen, and Askeran to the effect that they were undertaking such provocations. They are turning their guns on the servicemen.

[Grigoryan] You mean the Azeris.

[Balayan] Of course, and they do it in such a way so that the Armenians are blamed. [passage indistinct] I cannot imagine that in view of the situation we would have allowed such a thing. [passage indistinct] Such incomprehensible things are happening that a curfew, or what they call a state of emergency, has been declared in nearly 20 regions of Azerbaijan. They do such things. We must always be alert and not succumb to such provocations [words indistinct]. [passage omitted on plans to develop Megri and southern Armenia]

Continuing Clashes in NKAO Described

NC1701154090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The morning of 16 January, the day after the state of emergency was introduced in the region, was bright in Stepanakert. Will the state of emergency introduced by the state to stabilize the situation in Azerbaijan secure peace and civilized human relations in that republic? Only time will tell.

The population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] understand the declaration of a state of emergency. However, why Baku has remained outside these measures is incomprehensible. Nevertheless, the people hope that the blockades on the roads leading to Armenia will finally be lifted and the organizers and executors of the monostrous anti-Armenian crimes will be punished strictly.

Undoubtedly, under the new conditions, the concerns of the servicemen will multiply. The people of Artsakh [NKAO] will continue to treat the servicemen with respect, as always. The Interior Affairs Ministry personnel are working to protect the Soviet citizens' constitutional rights, said Colonel (Bekirov), political chief of the military commandant's office of the special district. He is doing everything he can to establish good-neighborly and orderly relations between the different ethnic groups. Most important is the cessation of bloodshed; he will do everything in this regard.

But the operative situation in the oblast remains tense. According to the preliminary data given by the NKAO Internal Affairs Department, a VAZ-642 passenger bus belonging to the Stepanakert Automobile Association was fired upon at 2000 on 15 January in the settlement of Kirkidzhan, which has gained notoriety during the last 2 years. A side window was shattered. The driver, Yuriy (Terziyan), was not injured. An unidentified person fired a [word indistinct] missile at the same Armenian settlement on the evening of the same day. There were no casualties. A house belonging to Baghdiar Arshakov in Dashbulakh village of Askeranskiy Rayon caught fire at around 2100 on 15 January, burning the wooden foundations, but the owners were gone. The fire was put out immediately.

On 14 January, the people of Stepanakert could not watch the broadcasts on Armenian television because of the usual hostile action of the workers at the illegal television station in Shusha, who probably disconnected the transmission. This is a psychological blockade.

As for the economic blockade, no freight cars carrying goods for the national economy have arrived in the oblast for the last 6 days. This is what is happening today. Will the situation ever change?

General Urges Political Decision on NKAO

NC1701144990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1000 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] According to the Azerbaijan Internal Affairs Ministry, the situation remains exceedingly tense in Baku and order is being kept in the city with difficulty. Eleven more bodies were found with evidence that they had been tortured. All were Armenians. According to the preliminary data, 18 Armenians were injured within 1 day. A group of Azeris seized four tanks at the Zazaly station the evening of 15 January while they were being lowered from the station platform. The tanks were hijacked along with personal and military equipment. At the demand of the authorities, the tanks were returned at midnight on 15 January. The evacuation of the Armenian refugees from Baku continues—1,550 by ship and 220 by air on 15 January.

Major General Aleksandrov commented on this: The situation is exceedingly tense and it is difficult to foresee the course of developments. The need to adopt a concrete political decision on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] problem is severe. Under these conditions there is no room for compromise; the flame of civil war between Armenia and Azerbaijan is intensifying.

Armenian Committee Member Reviews Situation

NC1701202490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1715 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Report by Khrayr Chamchyan—recorded]

[Text] [Chamchyan] As a result of the extremely tense situation prevailing in the republic, which developed as a result of the savagery committed against the Armenians in Azerbaijan, a strong wave of indignation has arisen in Armenia. It appears that history is repeating itself and, as was the case at the turn of the century, the Armenians are again left without a protector and their just voice is not being heard and is not disturbing the conscience of the country to which we have been devoted for 70 years.

We have no time to dwell on this. We must realize that any feelings of alarm and defeat are more dangerous for us than the merciless plots and savageries of the Azeris.

As you know from the press and our broadcasts, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers have created an operative committee which is in direct telephone and radio contact with the Armenian settlements in Azerbaijan. This ensures that correct information is received and enables the committee to take the necessary action.

I spoke to Suren Avedisyan, a member of the operative committee and deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Comrade Avedisyan please inform our listeners about the situation in the republic and in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO].

[Avedisyan] As of 1400 on 17 January, the situation in the Armenian villages of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon was being normalized. Although there were exchange of fire, there were no dead or injured. Nearly 3,000 refugees forcibly uprooted from Azerbaijan have already arrived in Yerevan; among them are Russians. Their number is expected to increase in coming days. The representatives of the committee are at the airport to organize their reception and to solve their housing and livelihood problems. (?Booking offices) will be set up at the airport and rail station where the refugees can obtain free tickets to travel to the place of their choice. The Health Ministry has organized a health [word indistinct] to serve the refugees; therapists, technicians, pediatricians, psychologists, and other experts are working there. The goverment of Soviet Armenia has also promised to provide one-time financial assistance to the refugees. (?Each) will receive R100 to meet some of the necessary expenses. Ikarus buses are waiting at Zvartnots Airport to take the refugees to temporary shelters.

During the meeting of our committee this morning, the relevant organizations were instructed to make a count within 1 or 2 days of the dormitories, sanatoriums, and rest homes in the republic, regardless of the jurisdiction under which they fall, and to use unoccupied houses as temporary dormitories. As has already been reported, some of the refugees have already been settled in Vartenis region. Free (?dwellings will be provided) in Amasiyskiy Rayon and in other regions.

According to the data of the republic's Health Ministry, 72 people from Azerbaijan have been admitted to Yerevan hospitals. Of these people, 20 are being treated for moderate injuries; the rest are only slightly injured. Unfortunately, an elderly woman who arrived in Yerevan in an injured condition died last night.

On 16 January Armenian pilots worked intensely; they made 11 trips with 40 helicopters to Stepanakert. Almost 2.5 tonnes of flour and sugar was taken to Getashen and 2 tonnes of flour, sugar, and other foodstuffs was taken to the population of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon.

At the instruction of our republic's procuracy, an investigative group has been set up to question the forcibly uprooted people arriving at Zvartnots Airport with the aim of uncovering (?those) who are behind the murders, banditry, pillage, and other atrocities, so that the necessary legal investigations can be instituted.

Regarding the territory of the republic, I can state that the situation in general remains tense at the border regions of the republic, but so far there have been no extraordinary incidents.

[Chamchyan] Let us also mention that the stabilization of the situation in the republic is only possible if concrete and effective measures are taken to check the criminal manifestations in Azerbaijan and if the Armenian population's security is guaranteed. The normalization of the situation and the elimination of the interethnic conflict can only be possible if a radical solution could be found to the NKAO problem.

Azeri Official Denies Troops on War Footing

NC1701130890 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] Rumors have recently spread in Baku that the republic's military commissariat [komisarligi] has placed troops on a general war footing. Alekperov, chief of the Political Department of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Military Commisariat, told an AZERINFORM correspondent the following:

These rumors are completely unfounded. They have been spread with one objective in mind, that is, to worsen the situation (?which has prevailed in the republic for the past 10 days). The press organs and radio and television networks in a number of countries have repeatedly carried false reports that the Armenians do not have a chance of leaving Baku. One of the Armenians who left Baku told an AZERINFORM correspondent: I am deeply distressed to be leaving the city in which I was born. However, I wish to say that I do not blame the people of Baku for the incidents. All the incidents have been caused by the instigations of Armenian extremists and by their [word indistinct] policy of resorting to force, which has provoked interethnic discord.

Azerbaijan Internal Affairs Ministry on Situation

NC1801085690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Correspondent Akhmetly will now present a report by the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs:

[Begin recording] Regardless of all the measures that have been put into effect, tension still prevails in the republic. In Baku yesterday, 63 people were (?taken hostage). Meanwhile, four burned bodies were found in a garbage pit close to Balakhany town. Attempts are being

made to identify them. Also, 18 Armenians were harmed. They are being protected at the present time. Various [words indistinct] from technical school number 61 in Kiziltash in (Kayabagskiy) rayon. A total of 1,084 Armenians were moved out of Baku on 16 January and nearly 5,000 Armenians have been moved out of the city in accordance [words indistinct].

Meanwhile, the workers continue to organize meetings in the republic. The meetings that were held in Baku, Khachmaz, Ismailly, Shakhbuz, Fizuli, Vartashen, and [name indistinct] demanded the immediate settlement of the fabricated Nagorno-Karabakh problem and the establishment of security for Azerbaijanis in the rayons which border Armenia.

The extremists continue their criminal activities in various rayons. Armenian extremists opened fire yesterday on Malybeyli in Shushinskiy rayon, Khadzhilar, and [name indistinct] in Tashinskiy rayon, (?Khaymurlu) in Kazakhskiy rayon, and Akkent, (?Yungishlak), Kazanchi, and (?Keytler) in Zagenlanskiy rayon. Luckily no one was injured. The people in Agdam in Tauzskiy rayon, which borders (?Chinar) in Armenia, tried to capture two Armenians who attempted to enter the town. However, they were able to escape. Meanwhile, various explosives were discovered in the area where the Armenian extremists were. As reported earlier, four tanks were seized by force from the military units in Khanlarskiy rayon. The tanks were returned after talks were held with the representatives of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan yesterday. A group of Azerbaijanis tried to obstruct five armored military vehicles between [name indistinct] and Leninabad in Shamkhorskiy rayon. Two people were injured as a result. Military units which tried to enter an area of (?Kurdemirskiy) rayon where tension is high were obstructed.

Meanwhile, the employees of the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with the aktivs of the Popular Front of Azebaijan, continue to take [word indistinct] measures to obstruct every kind of undesirable development. [end recording]

Papers Report Changes in Azerbaijan Rayons

NC1701155190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report today on the work of the plenums held by the Apsheronskiy and Imishlinskiy Rayon party committees on organizational matters. Murtazayev, first secretary of the Apsheronskiy Raykom [rayon party committee], was relieved of his responsibilities because he retired. Rustamov, first secretary of Imishlinskiy Raykom, was relieved of his responsibilities because he has been appointed to another post. Abbasov, who earlier was director of an industrial poultry firm named [name indistinct], was elected by secret ballot as first secretary of the Apsheronskiy Raykom. (?Kaynarov), who was chairman of the Imishlinskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee, was elected by secret ballot as first secretary of Imishlinskiy Raykom.

Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; Aliyeva and Bagirli, members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; and Abidinov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work and Cadre Affairs Department, participated in the plenums.

Arms Supplied to Guerrillas Via Iranian Border

PM1701220990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 90 p 1

[Untitled report from Yerevan by correspondent V. Aloyan]

[Text] At first glance all seems quiet in the Armenian capital. There has been a dramatic reduction in the amount of traffic on the city streets—the result of the latest blockade of the republic. But it only appears quiet.

A republican Communist Party Central Committee and Armenian Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet operational commission has been set up in the republic. The commission's job is to receive and accommodate refugees and coordinate actions in the complex situation. So far 3,500 people have arrived from Baku, and it is forecast that the total will reach 35,000 by the end of the month.

People from Armenian villages in Shaumyanovskiy and Khanlarskiy Rayons in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic lie wounded in Yerevan hospitals. In all, 72 people, 20 of them in a serious condition. A 70-year-old woman died of a bullet wound during a complicated operation.

It has to be said that many Yerevan people are of the opinion that the state border of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was destroyed with a long-term aim in mind. And the guerrillas are currently receiving large batches of weapons via this border. There is much talk about the need to organize self-defense detachments. I joined in the debate some young people were holding on this topic outside the building housing the headquarters of the Armenian National Movement.

"But martial law has been declared in all border areas, you guys, and troops are being brought in..."

""Troops? They are too late already... What can we expect of the army now? If it is not capable of protecting the safety of its own citizens, then it should not prevent us from defending ourselves."

This is the mood in the republic today.

Foreign Media Reports on NKAO, Armenia Situation

Azeris Block Soviet Troops

AU1801101690 Paris AFP in English 0957 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 18 (AFP)—Azeris have thrown up barricades to prevent Soviet troops from entering the centre of Baku, the Azerbaijan capital, where a general strike Thursday paralysed much of the industry, the Moscow-radio publication INTERFAX reported.

There were new attacks on Armenians on Wednesday night in the city, Interfax added.

Azeris were protesting against the sending of Soviet troops to the city where dozens of Armenians have been killed in "pogroms" over the past few days, Interfax said.

Barricades were blocking all approaches, sealing off the city centre to tanks and armored personnel carriers.

700,000 Demonstrate in Yerevan

LD1701115390 Hamburg DPA in German 1056 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Over 700,000 people demonstrated in the Armenian capital Yerevan yesterday evening against the imposition of a state of emergency in the areas of unrest in the Caucasus. "The Armenian people are deeply outraged by the decision of the Supreme Soviet," a member of the staff of the Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS, Liana Sarkisova, told DPA by telephone today.

Speakers at the rally described the decision as a "humiliation for the Armenians." The demonstrators criticized the fact that the 5,000 Soviet army troops and 6,000 Interior Ministry troops, additionally dispatched to the crisis region since last weekend, "are not being sent to Lenoran and Baku, where pogroms are still going on." "The leadership in Yerevan is torn both ways between the people and the Kremlin," Sarkisova said. [passage omitted]

Azeris Block Baku Airport; Pogroms Continue

LD1701172590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1547 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 17 (TANJUG)—The airport and main railway station in Baku, capital of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, have been blocked by members of the Azerbaijani People's Front, it has been learned. They are seeking to prevent Armenians from fleeing the city in order to square accounts with them.

The pogrom of the few remaining Armenian families in Baku is continuing—Azerbaijanis are breaking into their flats, robbing them and carrying out acts of violence.

Several hundred Armenians, who succeeded in reaching Moscow, staged a demonstration today in front of the party central committee building today, asking for everything (?possible) to be done in order for the "terror and genocide" over Azerbaijan's Armenian population to be stopped.

Troops Face Difficulty in Baku

LD1701121390 Kuwait KUNA in English 1120 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 17 (KUNA)—Soviet tanks and armored vehicles Wednesday were trying to break their way into Baku, the capital of the troubled Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan amid extremely tense situation following bloody ethnic clashes, sources told KUNA here today.

The sources of the Azerbaijani National Defence Council told KUNA's correspondent on the telephone today that the military trucks, tanks and armored vehicles were heading towards the center of Baku through the airport road.

The Soviet military machinery were breaking their way with great difficulty due to resistance from the citizens who were trying to block the way of the convoy, the official in charge of information at the council told KUNA.

He believed that the Soviet military troops were entering into the city in order to put into effect a curfew in the capital.

The troops also aim at creating circumstances that will block elections of the republic's Supreme Soviet which are likely to be swept by candidates of the Azerbaijani Popular Front, which demands more independence from Moscow.

The source described the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh as "extremely complicated" and said clashes between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians were still going on.

'Dozens' of Azeris Cross Iran Border

LD1801114890 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Dozens of people from Soviet Azerbaijan crossed the Iranian-Soviet border and entered Iranian territory around noon today. Border officials of both countries did not intervene in any way. According to a report of the central news unit, these people were chanting Islamic slogans as they crossed.

Baku Landslide Buries 28 Sailors at Caspian Sea

LD1701112590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 17 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrades, too many calamities have taken place since the New Year began. We have just received a

report about a tragedy in the Caspian Sea. A big landslide suddenly engulfed a number of buildings of the fleet's military station. In a matter of seconds, the elements swept away all the barriers and 28 Navy sailors found themselves buried alive under the debris.

All the subunits of the fleet were mobilized right away. A group of sailors quickly arrived at a ship that has just moored, as did the equipment. Specialists from the Baku Mechanical Works Directorate have made a 120-ton crane available.

Despite the complicated situation in Baku, its inhabitants immediately responded to the calamity that had befallen the sailors. Doctors from the city's ambulance service and from the Central Caspian Maritime Lines Hospital went to the aid of the victims.

It is difficult to list all of those who offered a helping hand to the Navy sailors. Working together with personnel from the Caspian fleet, they saved 10 and dragged out from under the rubble the bodies of 7 people who were already dead.

Two victims died in the hospital and the fate of 11 others is not yet known. Work to clear the rubble is continuing.

Residents Rush To Help

NC1601163390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] The newspapers published reports on the tragic situation caused by the (?storm) [not further identified]. A number of the buildings used by the main headquarters of the red-bannered Caspian Maritime Fleet collapsed as a result of [words indistinct] on 7 January. Twenty-two Caspian seamen were buried alive.

In spite of the complex situation in Baku, the residents of the city rushed to help the seamen.

17 Servicemen Rescued

NC1701185490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 17 Jan 90

[All numbers as heard]

[Text] A major landslide occurred on the side of a mountain in an area under the jurisdiction of the Caspian fleet near Baku at 0657 local time on 15 January. Twenty-eight servicemen were buried under the rubble: 17 of them were rescued, but 9 of the victims have died. The others are receiving medical treatment. The fate of the remaining 11 is unknown. Rescue work is continuing. Deeply grieved by the incident, the USSR Ministry of Defense is expressing its condolences to the families, relatives, and friends of those who died.

Azerbaijan Party Conveys Condolences

NC1701120390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] People have been killed as a result of the incidents which have recently occurred in Baku and in other rayons of the republic. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, and the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers convey their condolences to the families and relatives of those who have died. Measures are being taken to help those who have suffered losses.

Defense Ministry Condolences

LD1701180190 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet Defense Ministry has expressed condolences to the families, relatives and friends of the servicemen who died in Baku as the result of a landslide on Monday.

The disaster hit a military compound. Twenty eight servicemen were under the debris. Seventeen men, nine of them dead, were recovered from the rubble. The rest are being given medical assistance.

There's been no word so far about the fate of 11 people. Rescue work continues.

Independent Lithuanian Party Holds Plenum 17 Jan

LD1701212290 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius January 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscilla:

A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania held here today reiterated the intention expressed in resolutions of the 20th party congress "to cooperate with the Soviet Communist Party on a parity basis" and proposed the programme and rules of the Lithuanian Communist Party to be discussed at the coming 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party as a model for restructuring the party.

Participants in the plenary meeting believe that the visit of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and a group of members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee helped improve mutual understanding between the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist Party of Lithuania. At their 20th congress held in Vilnius between December 19 and 23 Lithuanian Communists proclaimed the republican party organisation to be an independent party, adopted its programme and rules and went on record "in favour of equitable ties and cooperation with the Soviet Communist Party, with communist parties of other republics and countries." About one fifth of the delegates who decided to remain in the Soviet Communist Party elected a provisional Central Committee.

The split in the Communist Party of Lithuania, its causes and possible consequences were discussed at a plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee held on December 25 and 26, 1989, in Moscow. Fulfilling its resolution, Mikhail Gorbachev and a group of participants in the plenary meeting visited Lithuania.

Today's plenary meeting outlined goals of the Communist Party of Lithuania ahead of elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet scheduled for February 24. The main goal is the "restoration of the free and democratic state of Lithuania."

Vilnius Radio Carries Independent Party Plenum

0800 GMT

LD1701094590

Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0800 GMT on 17 January begins broadcasting a live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Vilnius.

Chairing the session, Party First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas announces that the plenum is being attended by 161 members; 15 are absent.

At 0805 GMT, Brazauskas reads the proposed agenda, as follows:

"1. Concerning the consequences of the visit by Comrade M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Lithuania. We should discuss his week-long visit here in Lithuania and perhaps we should draw relevant conclusions. It has been proposed that I report on this issue.

"2. The second item on the agenda concerns the Lithuanian Communist Party action program. As you know a discussion on this program was started at the 20th congress. However, the proposals were so numerous that it became physically impossible to assess them and to make vigorous and effective use of these proposals right at the congress to improve the party's program on short-term actions.

"Kestutis Glaveckas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, will submit a report on this issue.

"3. The following item, which is the third one, is this: Matters concerning implementation of the Statute of the Lithuanian Communist Party." A report will be delivered by Comrade Beriozovas, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

"4. The fourth item concerns setting up Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee commissions. During the first plenum we reached the view that the initiative of Central Committee members in the solution of issues related to specific matters of party life, issues of the political life of Lithuania, should be made better use of. Therefore, such commissions should be set up."

Brazauskas then notes that at present there are 19 members of the Central Committee Bureau. It was proposed that reports should last 20 minutes each. Intervals should take place every 90 minutes.

The plenum congratulates Brazauskas on his election to the post of the chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet.

At 0810 GMT Brazauskas takes the floor to deliver a report on the results of Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania.

0810 GMT

LD1701105990

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0810 GMT on 17 January continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Vilnius.

Brazauskas says that the December CPSU Central Committee plenum "did not find a clear solution to a situation in which a separate republican party organization adopts a program, statute, and other documents at its congress."

"The majority of speakers at that plenum condemned this move and some of them failed to understand why such a congress had taken place. Thus, a decision was adopted for a group of Central Committee members to go to Lithuania and get acquainted with the situation in the republic.

"I would like to stress that, essentially, Comrade Gorbachev demonstrated an essentially new point of view in resolving the internal affairs in the republics and in the whole Soviet Union; and this includes domestic party affairs. Of course, it was impossible not to take account of problems which affect the Lithuanian republic, economically, socially, and, in a wider sense, politically. I think that at our plenum today, we members of the Central Committee and other participants will express their opinion about the visit. I think that our conversation should be constructive because the visit raised many problems which are important in implementing our party program, in taking part in the coming elections; and we should formulate our opinion on these matters.

"The mechanism for secession from the Soviet Union is a new problem, and we members of the Central Committee and the independent Lithuanian Communist Party should have our opinion on this problem.

"We have been asked—and Comrade Gorbachev asked—how we imagine the CPSU, how it should look. We discussed this in the bureau a few weeks ago, at the beginning of the year, on 2 or 3 January. Now we are being asked to submit our more extensive proposals," Brazauskas says. He adds: "I think that we should submit such proposals to the 28th congress."

"The congress which is to be held in October will be too late. It should be convened much sooner, as soon as

possible, in order to maintain, I would say, prestige. I will tell you frankly that at present the events in the country, events in Transcaucasia and the events in the Baltic region and in Lithuania and in other places put Comrade Gorbachev in a very awkward situation. Many things are linked with Comrade Gorbachev's name, I cannot say anything new here.

"I think that our proposals will be useful to Comrade Gorbachev and others supporting such a radical reconstruction of the whole party system.

"Comrade Gorbachev's visit is being reported not only in the Soviet Union, but also in many foreign countries. This increases our responsibility, it places the events taking place in our republic on the same level as great events taking place in the world. Of course, these events are proof of good and cultured behavior, although our opposition attempted by various posters to spoil the mood both for Comrade Gorbachev, for us, and for me. In some places behavior has not been good."

Brazauskas concludes his remarks at 0840 GMT. At this time he is asked whether the issue of some republics leaving the Soviet Union was discussed with Gorbachev. Brazauskas replies that this is a matter for each republic. Replying to a question from Cekuolis, Brazauskas points out that some parties do not recognize the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. However, these may invite representatives of the Lithuanian Communist Party to their events and party officials from the old Central Comittee will be invited here reciprocally.

At 0850 GMT, Brazauskas states that the party should revise its strategy and improve it all the time.

At 0852 GMT, an unnamed chairman of the session announces that the Lithuanian Communist Party has received many messages from various parts of the Soviet Union supporting the resolutions of the 20th congress; in all 1,481 messages support the resolutions and 166 messages express disapproval.

At 0855 GMT, Mindaugas Stakvilevicius briefly describes his acquaintance with Gorbachev and states that the Lithuanian Communist Party should not isolate itself from the Soviet Union's life but take an active part in it.

At 0902 GMT, Arunas Zebriunas takes the floor.

At 0907 GMT, Valentinas Sventickas, member of the Central Committee says that with regard to the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on Lithuania, A. Brazauskas should maintain that the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party congress are irrevocable. He adds that Gorbachev will say whatever the CPSU Central Committee wants him to say.

At 0913 GMT, R. Pakalnis, member of the Central Committee and director of the Institute of Botany at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, says: "The question of how we are going to live should be replaced by how we are going to survive." His main concern is ecological problems.

At 0920 GMT, Ozelyte, member of the Central Committee and a film actress, says that the status of Lithuania as an occupied country should be legally recognized. Ozelyte thinks that to achieve a restoration of the statehood of Lithuania, which is the ultimate goal of the Lithuanian Communist Party, this should be taken as a point of departure.

At 0929 GMT election of the editing commission begins.

At 0930 GMT, a 10-minute recess is announced.

0949 GMT

LD1701124490

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0949 GMT on 17 January resumes its live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Vilnius, after a musical interlude. Justas Paleckis, Central Committee secretary, is in the chair.

Kcryagin, a worker from Alytus, says that in his view, Gorbachev arrived in this republic with preconceived ideas about the political situation in this republic and held on to them. He says that these politburo members who visited his cotton processing combine in Alytus could see what the position of the workers was. He adds that he is sure that now the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee will have to change.

At 0957 GMT, Vytautas Kaminskas, professor of Vytautas the Great University in Kaunas, says that Gorbachev, as the initiator of the idea of Europe being our common home, cannot interpret the secession of the republic in such a simplifed way. Therefore, Gorbachev had no other option for his actions here in this republic. He proposes publishing the program and the statute of the Lithuanian Communist Party in the Russian language possibly in PRAVDA. He suggests that it appeared that Gorbachev himself was not acquainted with these documents.

At 1003 GMT, Vytautas Laurinavicius, member of the Central Committee from Silute Rayon says that it is necessary to make clear what is the current membership of the Lithuanian Communist Party. He also asks about the nationality make up. If the discussion in the party had not been started the membership of the party would have fallen drastically. Another proposal is to leave the split faction of the Lithuanian Communist Party alone and simply carry on working, and let the faction carry on working, too. V. Laurinavicius also comments on the mechanism of secession from the Soviet Union, mentioned by Gorbachev which frightened the workers. They said this would be like buying oneself out of serfdom. One would never be able to pay off the debts.

At 1011 GMT, Liudas Truska, member of the Central Committee and a historian, says that the critical attitude

toward Gorbachev is not justified. If Gorbachev is deposed, then the rebirth of Lithuania will be crushed. The path toward independence should be implemented and not only exist in declarations. L. Truska invites everybody to seek further compromises.

At 1017 GMT, Justas Paleckis, chairman of the plenum says: "Here I would like to read the note sent in by Bronius Genzelis, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee: To which party does Comrade Eismuntas [chairman of the KGB] belong? It seems that he and his coworkers are a part of the leadership of the other party. If so, on what grounds is he taking part in our plenum? Please, could you explain this?

"I can explain on behalf of the organizers of the plenum that all members of the Central Committee, members of the Financial Commission, members of the Appeal Commission, heads of the republican state committees, ministries, workers of the Central Committee, heads of departments of the ministries have been invited to take part in the plenum. Therefore, not only members of the Central Committee are taking part in this plenum."

1019 GMT

LD1701124890

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1019 GMT on 17 January continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Vilnius.

A male voice in the hall is heard saying: "Those who are members of the Lithuanian Communist Party should take part. So, I would like to ask esteemed Eismuntas a question then. Let him stand up and clearly announce to which party he belongs."

Eismuntas answers: "Esteemed comrades: Probably not only Genzelis is interested in this question. There is no doubt that I was invited as a member of the government. Today I am still a member of the government. Whether I hold this position tomorrow is another question. Now, concerning my political points of view and convictions: I have voiced them. Most of my thoughts, life experience, and convictions do not coincide with those of Comrade Genzelis or the similar opinion of his friends. If we speak about the pluralism of opinion, about the culture of politics, then why are attempts now being made to impose one opinion instead of the other? Why are attempts being made at label-sticking while speaking about political culture, the more so if this is done by a professor?

"The Committee for State Security [KGB] is an institution. We represent the all-union and the republican committee. We do not impede the process which is currently taking place in Soviet Lithuania. The administration of this republic, the Central Committee of the party of this republic are taking part in it and they can confirm that under no circumstances do we meddle in the processes taking place in this republic. Of course, we observe them; this is our working duty. However, we do not restrict either the freedom or the rights of anybody.

"Of late, the KGB has become more open. Prevention measures have become the basis of the work of the KGB and during recent years no means of repression have been used against so-called persons of different conviction. What the opinion of the communist staff members of the KGB is, which path they will choose—this is entirely their own business. We also do not restrict their opinion and their moods. By the way, I think that it has not been without the active influence of Comrade Genhzelis that some members of the Lithuanian Communist Party working at the KGB have declared that they support the Lithuanian Communist Party being independent. No measures were taken against them.

"Therefore, Comrade Genzelis, it has been left to complete self- determination. And there is no pressure. [noise of disapproval heard in the hall] What is it that you are not satisfied with? I do not understand. What do you demand? A confession? There will be none."

An unidentified male asks: "What is your position?"

Eismuntas: "I have voiced my position. I do not like your position. I have my position. I can see what you want and what you want to achieve. Speaking frankly, most of the people who are currently trying to reach the front line of the political positions are not always worthy of it according to their morality as well as their political and other qualities. This is what I would like to say. Are you satisfied with my answer, or not?"

Male voice: "Do you think Lithuania needs the KGB? [indistinct arguing in the hall] I am convinced that the KGB committee is not needed here in Lithuania at all. What can you say to this? Prove that you are right, that you are needed."

Eismuntas: "Look, you are not a judge and I am not the accused. Therefore, I do not have to prove anything. This is the first point. Secondly, if we say that at the moment the party system is such after the amendment of Article Six of the Constitution we no longer serve the party then, formally, you have no right to demand anything from me. We are defending the currently existing state system defined by the constitution. The issue of whether the KGB is needed or not should be solved by the highest authorities of the Soviet administration at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet"

J. Paleckis says: "All right, last question briefly, please.

Male voice: "Does esteemed Eismuntas agree with the idea that the staff members of the KGB should not be members of any party at all?

Eismuntas: "At the moment I am not able to answer this question. I think that this question no doubt will be given vigorous discussion and I am fully convinced that the organs of state security will also be depoliticized. I think this is the reality of life and we shall come to this."

At 1025 GMT, R. Sakalauskas, from Mazeikiai Oil Refinery speaks about the mechanism for secession.

1032 GMT

LD1701124990

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1032 GMT on 17 January continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in Vilnius.

Purtulis, member of the central committee, takes the floor. He says that the economic aspect must be thoroughly taken into consideration in the secession mechanism.

At 1036 GMT, Romualdas Ozolas takes the floor. In his opinion, the preparation of the secession mechanism is Comrade Gorbachev's personal problem. Our task is to assess the Soviet union debts to Lithuania. There is no time to waste. The Lithuanian Communist Party should act now pursuing the path toward secession.

At 1044 GMT, Dagiliene, member of the central committee says that cooperation between the CPSU and the Lithuanian Communist Party is becoming impossible, because the CPSU is in disarray, and the Lithuanian Communist Party has its program and its aims. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has been elected democratically and this cannot be said of the CPSU.

At 1052 GMT, Stasys Apinis from Kedainiail takes the rostrum. He asks the more experienced party members to address party meetings in the rayons more often to dispel doubts about party work among some party members.

At 1054 GMT, Povilas Vasiliauskas from Klaipeda insists that since the Lithuanian Communist Party is a democratic party, nonparty people should sometimes be invited to party meetings.

At 1058 GMT debates on this item of the agenda are concluded.

At 1059 GMT Brazauskas states that the party should explain in detail to the people everything that has so far been debated at the plenum. At present all government members are party members, but it may happen in the future that noncommunists will be in the government. Therefore, government members should be invited to take part in future party meetings.

At 1105 GMT, Kestutis Glaveckas takes the rostrum. He speaks of economic problems stating that at present about 500,000 people in Lithuania live on the poverty line. Inflation is eroding people's income. He unfavorably compares the living and working conditions of the Lithuanian working people with those in western countries. The structure of Lithuania's economy is outdated. The economic plan was not fulfilled in 1989. There is a danger that unemployment will rise substantially in the republic. There is also talk about a threat of blockade from the center. We must take into consideration the market in the east, but also endeavor to establish links with markets in the west. The path toward improving the economy is long and difficult. Agriculture is also in a very bad state. There is a danger that the supply of gas and oil may stop. Glaveckas also presents a very bleak picture regarding the supply of goods to the shops. Labor discipline is declining: People want to work less but live better.

At 1130 GMT, Glaveckas states that at present inflation in Lithuania is 15-20%. It can be expected that the number of unemployed will reach 100,000.

At 1132 GMT the session is adjurned until 1245 GMT.

1245 GMT

LD1701151490

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1245 GMT on 17 January resumes its live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in Vilnius.

Prunskus from Kaisiadorys is on the rostrum. He complains about the poor output of the republic's economy. So far there are no plans for purchasing raw materials at world prices if there is a shortage in their supply.

At 1256 GMT, Liudvikas Zikas takes the rostrum. He says that the plenum is unable to draw up immediate plans for the future development of the economy. He is concerned about the protection of cultural monuments stating that this problem is neglected in the republic.

At 1305 GMT, Algirdas Gricius from the Academy of Sciences dwells on the restoration of Lithuania's statehood. He says that one should forget the word "federation," because it is a union of states which have lost their statehood. One should speak of an association of states. It must be stated that this year Lithuania is ready to hold a referendum on its future. All party privileges should be abolished, he concludes.

At 1312 GMT, Jonas Marciukevicius, writer, states that more concern should be shown about the living conditions of disabled people. A completely different approach to social problems is essential.

At 1325 GMT, Juozas Jucys, member of the Central Committee from Birzai, complains that agricultural workers have been suffering from various reforms. The government should be reorganized so that it can resolutely solve all problems facing it.

At 1335 GMT, Brazauskas proposed that the program on the directions of party activity should be debated by a group of members who have spoken and who wish to speak, and corrections should be introduced by them. This is opposed by an unnamed member who says that the party program covers everything and that this program on directions is not necessary.

At 1343 GMT (Gazaryan), speaking in Russian, says that the program cannot be adopted today. It cannot be adopted before the elections and, therefore, each candidate at the elections should represent his views and the party's general point of view.

At 1346 GMT, the chairman expresses support for the proposal by Brazauskas, that a separate group of members discuss the program seperately and then report to the plenum.

At 1348 GMT, Poskus argues that the program should be adopted. Other members support him. A brief preelection program should be adopted. Brazauskas once again makes his previous proposal. By a majority of votes his proposal is accepted.

At 1358 GMT, Liudas Truska reads the resolution of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on the results of the visit to Lithuania by Mikhail Gorbachev, as follows:

"1. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum stresses that the visit to Lithuania by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet serves the interests of mutual understanding between the CPSU and the Lithuanian communist party.

"The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party is convinced that the visit by Comrade M. Gorbachev and a group of CPSU Central Committee members to this republic will have a positive effect and that the aspirations of the Lithuanian communists will become more understandable to the members of the CPSU Central Committee and to all communists; and that it will help in reaching a wise and mutually acceptable decision.

"2. The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party declares to the CPSU Central Committee plenum that the decision adopted at the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party about the party's independence is a cardinal and natural restructuring of the party which was determined by the new realities of life in Lithuania.

"Lithuanian Communist Party has firmly decided to adhere to the principles of parity in cooperation with the CPSU, as laid down in the documents adopted at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress.

"We propose that the program and the statute of the Lithuanian Communist Party be regarded as a model for the restructuring of the CPSU. The program and the statute should be discussed at the 28th CPSU Congress.

"3. All communists of Lithuania are urged by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum to be tolerant of different views on the processes of restructuring of the party and concentrate on the main objective of restoring the party of the independent state of Lithuania and setting up a democratic society."

At 1401 GMT, Vladimiras Beriozovas mounts the rostrum. Commenting on organizational problems, he says that some party committees intend to reduce their staff. The bureau should draw up a plan for the reorganization of the secretariat and submit it to the next plenum. He also describes other problems, such as membership fee, party sponsorship, etc.

1425 GMT

LD1701162190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1425 GMT on 17 January continues its live relay of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in Vilnius.

At 1425 GMT, several members put questions to Beriozovas about the party membership fee and other financial problems in party rayon committees.

At 1433 GMT, it is decided that all first secretaries will remain after the plenum and continue to question Beriozovas. At 1434 GMT, debates are adjourned for 20 minutes.

At 1457 GMT, Debates resume. At 1500 GMT, Germanavicius from Vilnius lodges a complaint about intrigues by a pro-Moscow group of communists in the Polish area of Salcininkai Rayon. He has asked the bureau to examine the political situation in that part of Lithuania.

At 1512 GMT, the next unidentified speaker states that the public is not supplied with sufficient information in the provinces because some party committees are split. Some party workers do not adhere to the resolutions of the 20th Lithuanian CP (Communist Party) Congress. The party apparatus should be reorganized so that all party officials are loyal to the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

At 1518 GMT, Kasauskiene from the appeal commission states that members of the Central Committee should go to rayon party organizations in order to explain party activity.

At 1524 GMT, Serbentavicius, Vilnius Rayon first secretary, says that members of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform in this rayon are very active and bring pressure to bear on the Lithuanian Communist Party, organizing their conference and setting up their own party structures. He proposes that the alternative party structure be eliminated.

At 1531 GMT, Justinas Karosas, member of the Central Committee, proposes changing the sign on the Central Committee building. At 1534 GMT, Beriozovas proposes to instruct party rayon committees to reorganize the party apparatus by 30 April at the town and rayon level. The next plenum is to be held in February.

At 1540 GMT, various questions are put from the hall, which deal mostly with compensation for those released from their duties as a result of reorganization.

At 1553 GMT, a 10-minute adjournment is announced. The live relay then ends.

Lithuanian Referendum, USSR Laws Rejected

LD1501213990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1940 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius, 15 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila reports:

A referendum will not be held in Lithuania—this was the decision voiced by a majority of deputies at a session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet held in the republican capital today.

In November 1989 Lithuania was the first of the union republics to adopt a law on referendum and to change Article 5 of the Constitution of Lithuania, which stipulates that "the most important matters of state and public life are submitted for nationwide discussion, and are also decided by way of referendum." In its turn, the law on referendum says that "a referendum is declared by the Supreme Soviet of the republic at its own initiative or at the demand of 300,000 citizens of the Lithuanian republic enjoying the right to vote."

An initiative group presented to the Supreme Soviet the necessary number of signatures of citizens of the republic, who advocated holding a referendum on the matter of the right of servicemen who are not permanent residents of the republic to take part in elections of deputies of the supreme and local soviets of Lithuania.

The law on elections adopted about 6 months ago granted the right to take part in elections to all servicemen stationed on the republic's territory. Now deputies have introduced an amendment to the laws "On Citizenship" and "On referenda," according to which it has been established that only servicemen who, in accordance with existing legislation, "are recognized as citizens of Lithuania," will participate in elections. Therefore, there will be no referendum on this issue.

The session ratified the decree "On the Temporary Procedure for Registration of the Statutes of Parties and Voluntary Associations of Citizens."

The supreme body of power in Lithuania likewise adopted a decision not to register, and to regard as invalid on the republic's territory, the law "On Constitutional Supervision in the USSR" adopted at the Second Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, and also the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers "On the Transfer of the USSR Savings Bank to the Jurisdiction of the USSR State Bank," and examined certain other important issues of the republic's state and public life.

The session concluded its work with this.

More Speeches at 13 Jan Gorbachev-Aktiv Meeting

CPSU Loyalist Shved

PM1801094390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by V. Shved, secretary of the Provisional Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform), at 13 January Lithuanian party aktiv meeting]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, esteemed comrades!

Two opposing opinions are clashing in this hall today. We will attempt to express our position, too. I believe—and this is very important—that today we must, above all, speak clearly and truthfully of the causes which have led to the present situation in the Lithuanian Communist Party. Without this it is virtually impossible to hope that the measures being formulated will be constructive, balanced, and clear-cut.

I would like, first of all, to speak about the reasons that brought about the convening of the 20th congress. I must agree with Comrade Serbentavichyus that dissatisfaction with the progress of perestroyka in the CPSU really was and still is to be observed among many Communists—I would say, the majority of Communists. Indeed, during the preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference 17,500 critical remarks were made in our rayon alone with its 15,000 Communists, and 40% of them concerned perestroyka in the party. But I must say that we generally gave up waiting for a prompt reaction from the CPSU Central Committee. We even had to adopt a special letter to Comrade Razumovskiy, secretary of the Central Committee, in this regard at a rayon committee plenum held, if my memory does not betray me, 19 January.

In this case it is possible to understand both the desire of Lithuania's Communists for independence and their wish to resolve their own problems. But it has so happened that some people have managed to place this dissatisfaction and this desire at the service of the task of Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union.

It has been said today that this is not so. Well, we can discuss it. I believe that it is necessary to have arguments. On the whole, a situation has taken shape whereby many people have formed the impression of events over the past 18 months that the only way to resolve problems at the contemporary stage is to do so without prior permission. We decided and acted. And there are even such statements. I could cite many examples, but I do not think there is any need. Particularly as the 20th congress itself was unilateral, without prior permission. At the same time the impression is also created that all USSR laws have already lost their significance in the republic. They are virtually ignored, and a proper assessment is not always made of this.

It was in such a situation that we approached the 20th congress, which, all in all, adopted the decision on the Lithuanian Communist Party's independence. I do not intend to demonstrate today what kind of decisions they were; I consider them unlawful even from the position of the CPSU Statutes, on whose basis they were adopted. I have already suggested to journalists that nonparty experts, jurists, should come from the United Nations, take the CPSU Statutes—precisely as the party law—and analyze from these positions the 20th congress decisions or reorganizing the party. I believe that anyone, even an anticommunist, if he is objective, will have to recognize that the congress decisions are unlawful.

But the thing is that the decisions are a reality. They are backed by people. People have defined their position, and this has to be taken into account. I have made my assessment, but at the same time I believe that today—at a CPSU Central Committee plenum, let us suppose—it is probably pointless to repeal the 20th congress decisions. Pointless. People have decided to adopt decisions; well, this is their right.

A CPSU Central Committee plenum is another matter, and it should, in my view, make an unambiguous and clear assessment of those decisions and show what kind, what sort of decisions they are, where they lead, and on what they are based. And, perhaps, even analyze whether the title of Communist corresponds to the party which has today been registered as Communist. I am speaking on behalf of the people who have not lost their faith in the CPSU and the USSR. They await from the CPSU Central Committee consistent and considered actions to reinforce CPSU unity and to strengthen the USSR.

I believe that very great thought and, I would say, tolerance are needed today. Everyone expects this. When our trend is accused today of some appeals for extremism, of taking some cardinal measures, we demand that things be called by their proper names. That what we are moving toward be named. Particularly as various comrades have stated this unambiguously in various press organs.

A final point. It is said today that precisely the congress decisions have made it possible to enhance the Lithuanian Communist Party's prestige. Well, I must agree that the Lithuanian Communist Party's prestige really is considerably higher today than it was before. Moreover, esteemed Comrade Brazauskas is the no. 1 leader in the republic.

But why has this happened? Is it only because the 20th congress adopted the decision proclaiming the party independent that it has become so popular? Comrades, not so much time has elapsed since the congress. But our prestige began to spread [popolz] when we—rather, not we but the party—announced the preelection platform or, rather, the precongress platform which stated: The Lithuanian Communist Party's aim is an independent Lithuanian state. It was probably this slogan that conditioned the growth of prestige today. I believe that it must be stated very clearly just what has given rise to the Communist Party's prestige and how this will have to be paid for. A serious price will have to be paid: When the Lithuanian Communist Party fulfills its task and makes Lithuania independent, it will have to repent, and then they will decide what to do with it. I personally do not intend to be in the party with regard to which they will decide what to do. I will endeavor to ensure that people really assess our party on its actions.

There are a lot of arguments to the effect that the 20th congress decisions do not mean a split in the CPSU. Comrade Greychyunas spoke of this. Well, what can I reply to that? There is a document approved by the 20th congress which clearly states (I even recall the time—1921 hours) that the CPSU Statutes and Program have lost their force in the Lithuanian Communist Party or, rather, in a section of the Lithuanian Communist Party. From the viewpoint of any law this is already secession, and we must not obscure the situation in this matter.

What, in this case, about Comrade Baltsevich's proposals that the congress decisions be considered a proposition to the 28th congress? An excellent proposition, particularly as we repeatedly submitted these proposals at the congress itself. Today they are being presented as news. Why could this not have been done at the 20th congress?

About the following slogan: "Communists of all Lithuania, unite!" A magnificent slogan, too. Only this is the problem: On what platform and on what principles to unite—on the principles of destroying the CPSU and the USSR? We cannot agree with this. We stand on the platform of the CPSU Central Committee September Plenum: A renewed federation, a renewed CPSU, and legal guarantees of people's socioeconomic equality.

Deputy Chairman Prunskene

PM1801095790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by K. Prunskene, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, at the 13 January meeting of the Lithuanian party aktiv in Vilnius]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev], esteemed guests. In the last few days we have taken another look at our aspirations and Lithuania's future—particularly its future relationship with the USSR. We do not lay claim to the unequivocal truth, indeed we believe that it is also our right to make mistakes. But nor do we accept the monopolization of the truth or the determination of our destiny and our future by even the world's most respected man. Authority and respect certainly do not arise and certainly are not maintained as a prerogative of the strongest. Natural authority is far stronger than authority demanded.

Mikhail Sergeyevich has repeatedly raised the question of whether we want to secede from the USSR—a process

which is identified with a severing of ties. First of all, secession or non-secession are not ends in themselves, at least as far as I and many of my colleagues are concerned. It is only a means to ensure the nation's survival, its wholeness, and its self-realization and to restore Lithuanian statehood. This becomes an end in itself when someone assumes a monopoly on the decision about our future. Free choice is almost always an alternative choice. The emphasis should be placed on the constructive aspect of our changing relationship. As far as we are concerned, the concept of secession primarily represents a liberation from the power of the suprarepublic center rather than a severing of ties with other republics. Indeed, many people have no intention of doing that. As a Supreme Soviet deputy, I do not need sociological research to tell me so. The suprarepublic superstructure is merely a deformed reality which identifies itself with the USSR. There is as yet no other union in the sense of a community of sovereign states. We cannot consciously answer the question of whether we want to be in it or not. Consequently, secession from a new union is not the issue here.

Discussion about severing ties sounds like a warning against disobedience, which, as the processes of democratization in the union develop, will simply fail to hold water. If our arguments about seceding from the union—the present-day union—or about independence for the Lithuanian Communist Party are not convincing for esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, then we are even more skeptical about the idea of a new union, which is not even in draft form at present. The tie between the Lithuanian Communist Party and the CPSU is a special issue in the search for the substance and form of the future relationship between our state, Lithuania, and the interstate formation, the union.

Lithuania's status can only be considered in the context of our past. Also, in the context of the present and future changes in Europe, referred to as Europe-92 and the common European home. We see this mission as being a through corridor or a gateway between West and East Europe, but only on the condition that our statehood is restored. This statehood does not lend itself to being squeezed into the standardized—albeit not academic—scheme for any federation. Given the possible formation of new mutual ties, the essence of federalism is fundamentally different and may be seen either as a confederation or, most likely of all, as a union of sovereign states based on a union market.

We have no intention of sitting idle, waiting for programs that affect us to be drawn up behind our backs, regardless of where this is done: In Moscow, Bonn, or Washington. We do not need to be warned against unpredictable consequences. After all, what is happening today in the USSR and what has happened in East Europe could not have been predicted either. We are all dependent on many factors and on world processes. It is hard to say which of us is more dependent.

The Lithuanian Communist Party has struck out on a new path, has accumulated and reflected the processes taking place in Lithuania. Those who are receptive have been able to see this for themselves this week. Members of the former republic party organization chose independence for the Lithuanian Communist Party, having their own reasons for doing so. For me, apart from anything else, it was a way to escape from the inner contradiction stemming from the incompatibility between participation in the democratic movement and, at the same time, in a party with long-established traditions of wielding power, which has even subordinated the Constitution to this; and being in the same party as people, some of whom have doubtful reputations and some of whom are furiously opposed to democracy, which is yet restructuring itself. I can well remember the general situation at the beginning of the perestroyka period you heralded, Mikhail Sergeyevich. I can remember how some communists and former leaders of the republic went to the plenums in Moscow in expectation of overthrowing the general secretary and restoring the old order. Yes, that is what happened, and everyone knows it.

I would not have the temerity to recommend how you should act in the CPSU Central Committee, but, reading its statements and listening to some secretaries, or, to be more precise, some Politburo members, conscience suggests only two solutions: Self-determination together with like-minded people, or complete withdrawal from the party. The choice has been made. In my opinion, the fears of the world public—and of our own public—that with more decisive cadre policy and open criticism of reactionary circles in the CPSU and even, say, with the resolution of the Baltic's problems the general secretary would be in real danger are groundless.

The actions of the government, which is ignoring implementation of the law on economic independence for our republics, and its attempts to freely interpret articles of this law, distort their essence, and even adopt decisions in violation of this law are not helping to stabilize relations. I am thinking, in particular, of the decision to transfer the National Savings Bank to the USSR State Bank system after this law had come into effect. I think that Moscow should also make up its mind as to what is to become of our law.

Editor Yemelyanov

PM170114490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 2-3

[Speech by V. Yemelyanov, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA, at the 13 January meeting of the Lithuanian party aktiv in Vilnius]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev], esteemed comrades! [Passage omitted]

You are right when you say that our party cadres often are and often have been ill-prepared for leading the people in the restructuring processes, whereas our opposition has been at work. So we must admit that "Sajudis"

has produced creators and generators of ideas rather than executors of ideas. Perhaps they are not always very competent politicians, and maybe their ideas are not always properly thought through, but they are creators nevertheless. Newton knew less than today's 10th-grader, but he was still Newton. There is a time for everything, as they say, but it is time that we have let slip through our fingers. So near and yet so far, as they say. That is also the reality of the situation.

But you cannot blame us Lithuanian communists for everything. Because of excessive centralization in both the political and economic spheres, we have not always been able to concur with the reasonable demands to broaden democracy and take fuller account of interests, opinions, and sensible reforms. In everyday life, even to this day we cannot guarantee that people's wages will allow them to buy next month at least what they were able to buy this month. Moreover, as the science of national psychology is not developed in our country and national policy is not a priority, the acuteness of these problems is still further exacerbated. For example, having given preference to technical progress in the past, we moved away from regional economic councils in favor of a vertical system of leading economic management. How much we have benefited in terms of scientific and technical progress I cannot say, but what we have lost in terms of ethnic relations is clear. After all, what does Moscow represent in the everyday psychology of Lithuanians, for example? It stands for Russia. We can now perceive a chain: Needs and interests arise below, in Lithuania, but these needs and interests are satisfied in Russia. Whose hands are we playing into? Generally speaking, the realities are such that people are now saying: Enough, we are tired of all this; we want to be Europeans. We are tired of models and entreaties involving all the "isms" under the sun. They are demanding the creation of real mechanisms to ensure that society functions efficiently in conditions which guarantee effective control by the people. We cannot stand in the way of this right of theirs—that, too, is the reality of the situation.

The concept for Lithuania's economic independence has been evolved on precisely this basis. I do not want to go too deeply into the essence of this concept; I admit that it is not totally perfect and that it has not been properly thought through. All I want to say is that those people who are putting up resistance and dragging out the process of putting this idea into practice are adding fuel to the fire. I think that, if our concept had been adopted immediately, we would be taking a more considerate attitude to your economic arguments today. I even admit that we would have changed places—in debate, of course.

Restructuring, democracy, and glasnost have stirred the people, roused them, and fired their enthusiasm. But we must admit that, given the inadequate level of political sophistication and, at the same time, the sufficiency of national self-awareness, sometimes even national euphoria, people have begun to show impatience and the desire to leap over the obstacles at breakneck speed, as they say, rejecting the leading role of the CPSU. That is another reality of the situation.

I could certainly continue this list of realities, but it is not a question of quantity—rather that the republic's party organization was placed in the position where it was impossible to wait any longer. The party had to be given the status of successor to the republic's party organization while at the same time dissociating itself from its mistakes and its ideas and methods. I would compare our social state with a herd of horses running across the steppe. No fence will stop it in its tracks: If you want to bring it in check, you must mount a good horse and ride into the herd, take the lead, and, aware that you have become the leader, bring the herd after you. You may argue with me, of course. In my example, democracy is substituted by ochlocracy or people power—the power of the mob which, they say, frenziedly sweeps everything from its path and, in a state of euphoria, follows any slogan, any gonfalon. If the demands of the crowd prevail over the politicians, they lose face. Yes, that, too, is the reality of the situation. That, too, is what happens. Nevertheless, I interpret our congress and the reorganization of the republic's CPSU party organization into an independent Lithuanian Communist Party as riding into the herd. [Passage omitted]

Rector S. Razma

PM1701143990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Speech by S. Razma, rector of Vilnius Pedagogical Institute, at 13 January Lithuanian party aktiv meeting]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich! [Passage omitted]

Esteemed general secretary! I listened with great attention to your speech at the meeting with the intelligentsia. We will analyze it. I believe that you in Moscow will also analyze this speech of yours, from which conclusions have to be drawn. I remember in particular three points which you made.

The first was that the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee has no imperial intentions. This is very important for the Lithuanian people.

I wish to cite a scientific work with which you disagree. The Soviet Union, it transpires, did not seize territories in the Baltic but returned to itself what had belonged to it as much as 250 years ago and had been the property of the Russian state continuously for 2 centuries with the exception of a brief period of 25 years.

Having heard your speech, I believe that our people can rest assured, since the USSR and the party leadership do not have similar intentions now.

The second point which I noticed. You see the future of the USSR as democratic, based on voluntary and natural integration and on a single market.

And the third point is that you propose looking forward, not back, in politics. As regards politics, we Lithuanian Communists will have to learn politics, because until now our party leadership has been more an executor of policy, not its creator.

What must we do now? I believe that it is necessary primarily to analyze the new realities calmly, to get to the bottom of them, and to seek paths to the future.

What are our realities? Lithuania will soon have had an independent Communist Party with its own program and statutes for 1 month. A party which the people have followed and begun to believe in.

What is this—chance, a mistake? No, it is the result, as Comrade Brazauskas has just said, of the historical experience of our people and party. This, I must emphasize, is not a professorial conspiracy.

The second thing, Mikhail Sergeyevich, of which comrades have already spoken: The Lithuanian Communist Party is not breaking off relations with the communist parties of neighboring republics. Comrade Brazauskas spoke of this very well. So what kind of situation is it? An impasse from which there is no way out? No. We have much in common, including common business with all republics and all parties.

First, we have an equally cruel past, but we have come through this. The second thing is that all the country's peoples have preserved the panhuman ideal in their soul. The third thing is democratization and a common socioeconomic striving.

What, then, should we do? It seems to me that we must sit representatives of our neighbors—Belorussians, Russians, and Balts—around the table and define all together the spheres and means of cooperation. I believe that we will find them and attain an alliance with the democratic parties, the communist parties of the union republics and states in the name of our people.

And again: Lithuania is not a bird and will not fly away from its land. It will live, work, and create together with its neighbors. We will integrate with them....

M.S. Gorbachev: It is necessary first to find out what to do with the integration that has already taken shape. Are we to destroy it and then recreate it?

S. Razma: No, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we favor integration....

M.S. Gorbachev: Comrades, I cannot be a greater Catholic than the Pope or a greater Lithuanian than you yourselves. You choose your own fate.

S. Razma: That is what I am saying. Integration must be natural, not commanded. That is, as stated here, we want to restructure our relations and turn them into natural cooperation. What do I want to expect of the CPSU Central Committee? Three things, Mikhail Sergeyevich. The decisions of the Lithuanian Communists' 20th congress must be taken into account.

M.S. Gorbachev: But formally this is not at all obligatory for the CPSU now, since you left on 21 December.... (Animation in the hall).

S. Razma: Nevertheless, it is necessary to establish parity relations with the Communist Party.... Third. It is necessary to study the opinion of Communists and propose that the 28th CPSU Congress make use of the Lithuanian Communist Party's experience of perestroyka.

Klaypeda Gorkom Head Greychyunas

PM170115079O Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by V. Greychyunas, first secretary of Kleipeda Lithuanian Communist Party City Committee, at 13 January Lithuanian party aktiv meeting]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, esteemed guests, esteemed comrades. April 1985, which initiated perestroyka in our country, made it possible for us to gather today to express different opinions and views. The CPSU, which proclaimed it, has itself remained virtually rooted to the spot. It adheres even now to the principles of autocracy, and the party should ponder, given that a congress is being convened only in the 5th year of perestroyka, it still has doubts over Article 6 of the Constitution, and PRAVDA carried a "Discussion Page" only a few days ago.

Some of our comrades try to call the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress and the documents adopted there a splittist breakaway and suchlike. But I call that congress a quest, an attempt to take a step forward, an attempt that can give a boost to progressive changes throughout the CPSU. I understand this as a great responsibility, which the communists of Lithuania have consciously taken on in the search for paths to a better life for all people in the republic. I also understand it as a certain risk, but we cannot do without it. As in any affair, in any work.

The experience of the past decades has shown that the universal fulfillment of party documents has fettered creative thinking and weaned people off work. The monopoly and the one-party system, which are preserved in the CPSU to this day, led to stagnation both in the party itself and in the economy. Today we are told—and you, too, Mikhail Sergeyevich, emphasize this—that people lead a better life in Lithuania than in other parts of the country. This may be so. But I attribute this partly to that same risk. The republic's leadership—and I can say this from the experience of our city, where I have lived and worked for many years and participated in the development of the city and the municipal services—has also taken a risk and not been a blind executor. We sense a risk in your activity, too, Mikhail Sergeyevich. This encourages us to some extent. I say all this in order

somehow to convince the esteemed guests that Lithuania's communists might be taking a risk, but they cannot sit and wait with their arms folded.

Yes, we are told, let's do all this within the framework of a unified, renewed CPSU. Frankly speaking, we were there, with the rights of an oblast territorial party organization. But I believe that, in order to renew the CPSU, first, each republic party organization must be renewed and become fully independent. Second, full equality of rights and cooperation among the communist parties of all the republics. But how can this be done in practice, if there is no republic communist party of Russia today? Third, only an autonomous, independent republic communist party which has the support of its people, is able to serve them, is capable of competing with other parties, and can help to renew the CPSU. Fourth, I imagine the USSR as an alliance of independent democratic states whose political aims are inalienable from socialism. I also imagine a new organizational structure of the CPSU as an alliance of autonomous, independent republic Communist Parties which base their relations on the equitable principles of the overall strategy of perestroyka.

I would like to touch on another question, too. Klaypeda is Lithuania's only port. Ours is a multinational city, just as the party organization is multinational. The decisions and documents of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress elicited ambivalent thoughts from the population and Communists. Therefore, we should not be surprised that with the growing complexity of the political situation there have once again been attempts to intimidate with nationalism, when people call everything manifestations of it: Defense against migration, which creates alarm; the desire to be the master in the land of one's fathers and forefathers; and the efforts aimed at preserving a living mother tongue. So we cannot understand, let us say, the replies and interpretations given during the visit of Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, the esteemed chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, to Klaypeda to questions, for example, about the transfer of the "Baltiya" Shipbuilding Plant, let us say, to republic subordination. Lithuania, he said, would have to redeem that plant worth R55 million from the union, since it is the property of 15 republics. Then it becomes quite incomprehensible what property Lithuania has, let us say, in the Ukraine, Moldavia, Russia, or in other republics.

Or the reply to the question of how the government will take care of those Russian-speaking people who will not wish to remain in Lithuania if it secedes from the USSR? Lithuania must make full compensation for the national income that has been created and create social conditions in another region. This elicits a question in return: Who will compensate and when those people (probably, approximately 150,000 of them) who were moved from Lithuania to other parts of the Soviet Union before and after World War II? I believe, therefore, that the answers must be better reasoned.

At the meeting in the city party committee we explained to the esteemed guest that nonexistent blame should not be heaped onto Lithuania. Opponents of national revival and perestroyka are in the greatest need of talk of expelling from Lithuania the population speaking other languages so as to be able to compromise perestroyka in the eyes of the country's public. Lithuania pushes no one away but proclaims: Let everyone to whom this land is dear work together for the good of the future.

Chairman G. Kobetskayte

PM1701105390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by G. Kobetskayte, chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers Nationalities Affairs Committee, at 13 January Lithuanian party aktiv meeting in Vilnius]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev], esteemed aktiv participants! [passage omitted]

Lithuania has never been a single-nation state. Its closest neighbors have always lived here and still do: Russians, Letts, Poles, Belorussians, Germans. In the 14th Century, after the battles against the Golden Horde, the great Prince Vitautas brought Tatars and Karaim to Lithuania as his guards and warriors. Jews have also lived in Lithuania since roughly the same time. Over the past 600 years not one of these nationalities has vanished here and none has felt any threat from the Lithuanian people. Since the war the number of people of different nationalities in Lithuania has increased still more. In our republic now Lithuanians make up 80% of the population, Russians 9.4%, Poles 7%, Belorussians 1.7%, Ukrainians 1.2%, and Jews and others 0.3%. [passage omitted]

Attempts are being made to substitute problems of national relations for all other problems.

For example, the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress decisions enjoy great support among broad sections of the republic's population. I deliberately speak of the population of Lithuania, although I know that there is a tendency to assert that these decisions and the path chosen by the Lithuanian Communist Party are supported only by Lithuanians. In my view, this way of formulating the question is fundamentally wrong. It is wrong because even among Lithuanians there are people who do not support the aforesaid steps of the Lithuanian Communist Party. It is also wrong because even among the republic's inhabitants of other nationalities there are many who do support these steps. The demarcation line lies elsewhere.

I am inclined to explain the situation psychologically: Some people accept more easily what is well known, familiar, and generally accepted. This category of people finds it hard to accept any innovations.

The second reason for this attitude to the Lithuanian Communist Party's proposals is the interests of those people who are offering resistance. These are essentially

people who have something to lose. For it is believed that power is held or was held before by people of other nationalities—not Lithuanians. And then the chief reason lies in the national plane. According to statistical data, employment in the various levels of the managerial structures corresponds roughly to the correlation of the republic's national composition. [passage omitted]

V. Sturis

PM1701142790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p2

[Speech by V. Sturis, first secretary of the Shilutskiy Rayon Lithuanian Communist Party Committee, at 13 January meeting of the Lithuanian party aktiv in Vilnius]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrades and guests, esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev]! [passage omitted]

I would like to approve of the idea voiced in the past few days that the status of various republics in the Soviet Union could be different to that of other republics, depending on their willingness and desire for this. This same principle applied to party relations could be the key to the situation that has arisen in the CPSU.

It is certainly true that unanswered questions about the structure of the Soviet Union and the CPSU have accelerated the Lithuanian Communist Party's move toward independence. I may be wrong, but the restructuring of the CPSU will not be carried out either by the apparatus or by the Central Committee or even by a congress: The CPSU can only be restructured as a result of real changes in the cells of the living organism. And, as long as pyramids are the building material that we use, all that we can build with them is one large pyramid—the cause of all our misfortunes. The time of world revolution and a world party is long gone.

Defending the status of the sovereign state, the party must have similar status itself. The situation that has developed in the Lithuanian Communist Party does have its logic. I do not think that anything will happen if both parties peacefully coexist. The answer to the question of the acceptability of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress decisions should be given by a referendum among the republic's communists.

I remember your words, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that we are not enemies. This opinion is held by many people in Lithuania. They have a benevolent attitude to the CPSU and look forward to its being restructured. The path of the future can only be a path of positive attitudes. I cannot agree with the image of Lithuania and its Communist Party as drawn by many central mass media for the benefit of the people of Russia and other republics. I would not like to see a return to the spirit of those threatening documents of last summer and fall. I am confident that the continuation of the CPSU Central Committee plenum will be a step in this direction.

You spoke the words: We invite you to the 28th congress. This means that together we can seek a new mechanism for adopting decisions which affect the interests common to the union republics' communist parties. We well understand the strangeness of the situation. We also understand that the closest subject capable of establishing a new relationship between the communist parties is the congress. Consequently, putting off the congress until the end of the year is hardly a good idea. In my opinion, May or June would be the most acceptable date.

Worker V. Pavlovich

PM1701114990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by worker V. Pavlovich at 13 January Lithuanian party aktiv meeting in Vilnius]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The new Lithuanian Communist Party will exist with the title Communist, at best, until the 28th CPSU Congress. I am not saying this groundlessly, because it was stated in a radio interview as long ago as 21 December last year that the Communist Party will, in all probability, be renamed. I saw you on television, Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev], getting worked up at the meeting with the creative intelligentsia on hearing the emotional speeches by leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party and "Sajudis." That meeting took just over an hour, but we are under the pressure of those emotions every day, only now they are more heated. Radio, television, and the press drill the same old thing into us, playing on national feelings. Thus the rally was organized 11 January, and everything was used—even down to the transport bringing people from all over Lithuania. Representatives of the press seek to slander any of our meetings in the press. If they find a provocative little moment, they will show it out of context on television. The independent Lithuanian Communist Party has, in point of fact, united with the informal organizations which, as you know, oppose the Soviet system. [passage omitted]

'Top Priority' Views Lithuanian Situation

LD1301152190 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Jan 90

["Top Priority" program presented by Sergey Goryachev with Sergey Plekhanov and Andrey Korchunov]

[Text] [Goryachev] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to Top Priority. I am Sergey Goryachev. Developments in Lithuania, the Soviet Baltic republic, have been of top priority of course for the Soviet Union lately and Mikhail Gorbachev said Thursday [11 January] in Vilnius, the capital of this republic, that it will be a tragedy if the republic secedes from the Soviet Union. We'll discuss the situation in Lithuania today with my guests, Dr Sergey Plekhanov, hello.

[Plekhanov] Hello.

[Goryachev]...and Andrey Korchunov. Let me ask you, Sergey, do you really think that the consequences of this hypothetic secession of Lithuania will be that grave or do you think that Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in these terms just to persuade them not to take this step?

[Plekhanov] Well, any crisis that is ahead of you always looks more terrible than the crisis you already lived through. I think we can face a difficult situation in connection with the movement for secession which exists in Lithuania, but on the other hand the political process has not yet worked on this program, [correcting himself] on this problem. An important aim of Gorbachev's trip to Lithuania is to present the people there with all the facts. I mean, there are people in that part of the Soviet Union who have been clamoring for independence for Lithuania, making impressive statements, throwing out slogans and so on, and the mood in the republic is such that quite a substantial part of the population seems to be carried away with that idea. But I think it's for the first time that Lithuanians have a chance to really look at all sides of the problem. Gorbachev has a lot of authority; he was received very warmly in Lithuania, a lot of people, even those who don't agree with him, even those who want to challenge his thinking on the subject, are anxious to talk with him, to have this sort of a dialogue. We should not minimize the importance of this sort of dialogue in changing the attitudes of people. It may be that Gorbachev will be able to change the minds of quite a few people there. I'm sure that a lot of minds will be changed; whether there will be enough of a change or not we will see. But the one thing that is clear to me is that this is like applying a healing solution to a wound which has been festering for a while.

[Korchunov] There's another dimension of this problem and this problem is that possible secession of Lithuania can trigger a chain reaction of the revision of post-world war borders in Europe and perhaps this is another, (?at least a) reason for Gorbachev's concern, because, you know, now Germany is somewhat reluctant to make, West Germany I mean, to make it clear that it recognizes the west Polish borders and Poland has its own problems with Lithuania and there are problems between Romania and Hungary, so it can trigger a chain reaction I think, that's what bothers Gorbachev.

[Goryachev] I understand. Being an expert in international relations you are of course considering these developments in the context of international scene, but I would say that I think that this could also trigger a similar movement say in Armenia or in Azerbaijan, or in some other Soviet republics, in the Ukraine, there are also mounting nationalist movements over there. That's why it is very important. Now let me ask you a question. How realistic are they economically? Do you really think that this tiny republic can withstand independence economically?

[Korchunov] Well, I think that there are a lot of illusions on the side of the Lithuanian leaders and among the population of the republic and there is an impression that the moment they cede they'll see a long line of Western businessmen just waiting to invest their money into the economic system of Lithuania and I guess that they will face a lot of disappointments because they are really plugged into the economy of the country and it is very difficult to expect how they integrate into Western economic model in a couple of years. And I think that political results of such a development if, you know, this process towards independence coincides with further deterioration of economic situation in Lithuania. I guess that what we can have there is not anything like pluralistic democratic system, but rather nationalistic authoritarian regime. And a major source of legitimacy of this regime will be nationalism. Unfortunately, the experience of independent Lithuanian state between the First and the Second World War is not very reassuring, especially the experience of thirties which was marked by authoritarian trends in political leadership, by anti-Semitic and anti-Polish sentiments among the population.

[Goryachev] Well, we are trying to build up democracy in the Soviet Union; neither do we have our democratic tradition, in this country too, so do you think that we are bound to failure here in the Soviet Union? Do you speak in that terms about Lithuania? [as heard]

[Korchunov] You know, what bothers me about, you know, renaissance of national feeling in the Soviet Union, is that the rights of nations are put above the rights of individuals, and it is very characteristic not only for Lithuania but also for you know, Central Asian republics, for Caucasus and for Russia herself. I think that, you know, people tend to think not about themselves as individuals but rather about nations and, you know, it can lead to not only authoritarian but I would say even totalitarian trends in politics.

[Goryachev] What do you think about that?

[Plekhanov] I agree, I agree with Andrey. That's a great danger and I think that nationalism can be considered the greatest threat to the new democracy which we're trying to build in the Soviet Union. There is nothing more imortant than human rights and rights of the individuals. Things end, start and end with individuals. National groupings are important, national rights are important, but when those rights are put at the forefront and are considered the most important thing in the world consequences can be, ah, just disasterous, both for those nations and for their neighbors. We've seen that in history so many times.

[Goryachev] Lithuanians comprise only 80% of the republic's population and the rest, 20% are Russians, Poles, Jews, and there are indications that some of these people will not be willing to join Lithuania as an independent state. What will the solution be then?

[Korchunov] You know, up to now again I don't think that we can be too optimistic about some compromise because at the moment Poles for example were rejected autonomy they asked for, and paradoxically, you know,

the same rights Lithuania were claiming for themselves they rejected for Poles in Lithuania. So, I think that in the worst case they'll be like Northern Ireland, something like Northern Ireland, which is really not a very bright prospective.

[Plekanov] Well, I think it will be a difficult process indeed and there could be violence and I think that the majority, I don't believe in, in nationalism being really the guiding principle in the behavior of large majorities. I mean, nations are usually led by nationalists and I still think that the democratization processes which are developing in Lithuania will help persuade quite a few people there that when these nationalist trends acquire a threatening dimension and begin to endanger the, this process of renewal which is just as important for Lithuania as for everybody else, that people will begin to rethink the things that they've heard from their leaders.

[Goryachev] What, what will they lose if they secede?

[Korchunov] Well, first of all I think economically they will lose a lot. Then I think they will lose this integration into political and cultural process that is going on in the country, and since these countries are not large countries, since they will face difficulty integrating into European, West European economic and political system, I think it will, you know, again in the worst possible case it will lead to something like Albanian option. I don't believe that Lithuania will be another Albania but I think that some isolationalism will be inevitable.

[Goryachev] Could that be another Finland, Sergey?

[Plekhanov] Could that be what?

[Goryachev] Another Finland?

[Plekhanov] Another Finland? No, I don't think so, I really don't think so. I think that the consequences could be quite disasterous for Lithuania, for its economy. I don't really, I can't really imagine a country like Lithuania tearing itself off the existing networks of economic relationships. And, by the way, when this question is posed in debates nowadays, when Gorbachev for instance asks people in the streets do you really want to cut off all ties they say no, no, no, of course we don't. No, we don't want to do that. In fact what's happening in those debates there—Lithuanians say independence, Gorbachev says Federation. The words are different and the concepts seems to be different but when they get to the brass tacks, when they get to nuts and bolts of what they mean by federation and independence pretty much they're talking about the same thing. Because, in Gorbachev's thinking, the Soviet Union that he wants to see built is a Soviet Union in which each republic is virtually independent. I mean, the degree of self-government, the degree of local self-government, the degree of independence, is going to be really, really critical. I mean, it's really going to be great and it, it's, it amounts to independence to the extent that you can have an independence in today's world. Because, the word today is not independence it's interdependent and Lithuania...

[Goryachev, interrupting] (?As) Gorbachev said, excuse me, like Gorbachev said, we haven't lived in a real federation yet.

[Plekhanov] That's right, because we've been living in a unitarian state, in a unitary state; overcentralized, overbureaucratized, with very little power at the grass roots and in various regions. So, he, he virtually tells them, I'm with you, yes, I want you to become independente within the Soviet Union. And I think there is a possibility for bridging that gap.

[Goryachev] Now let's talk about the role of the Communist Party in these developments. In December the Lithuanian Communist Party voted for its independence from Moscow and after that, and the urgent Central Committee meeting was called but no decision was made then and Gorbachev and other party officials were sent to Lithuania to explore what's going on, and the meeting will resume probably later this month. So, on the face of it it seems that it was the Lithuanian party decision that triggered the whole range of issues but it seems to be deeper on the other hand. Do you agree with that?

[Plekhanov] I think there are both local reasons and intra-party reasons. The party needs to undergo a very substantial change because it's been the party which ran this bureaucratic system for decades and you can't really change overnight from a party of the status quo into a party of revolutionary renewal of this magnitude. So, there's got to be a lot of struggles, a lot of movement back and forth and so on, zigzags, and the Lithuanian decision has really accelerated this movement toward reform in the party. On the other hand of course the decision of Lithuanian party reflects a local reality. It's part of this local situation about which we've been talking about.

[Goryachev] I was watching the television coverage of Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with the people in Vilnius and I got the impression that the basis of the separatist sentiments, of at least some of the people, is the very slow pace of reform in the Soviet Union. What they say is that we do not believe in the central government. We do not believe that you can change things quickly in the Soviet Union; we would rather do that in our small, independent state. Now, on the other hand some of the party conservatives say that Gorbachev's perestroyka made it possible for the Soviet Union, as they say, to lose Eastern Europe, now you're going to lose Lithuania; so what's next? The question is, do you think that Mr Gorbachev's position could be undermined if no compromise is reached here?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think he is betting on the compromise, we're all betting on the compromise, and I think that the compromise is possible. Politics is the art of the possible, even when the most difficult situations arise. As far as the conservative position, I don't think that it really carries a lot of weight in the public opinion. I

mean, certain party councils of course and certain party circles, they can sound persuasive with some people, but again their arguments have to be confronted head-on because there are things that you can say in response. How can you lose something that never belonged to you? Eastern Europe has never belonged to us and the circumstances of those Baltic republics joining the Soviet Union were also rather peculiar to say the least. So, we've got to really rethink in a fresh and honest light the circumstances of how the union was formed and to reform the union.

[Goryachev] Certainly some people here would think that if no compromise is reached it's a failure of Gorbachev and that his reforms, his new ideas, triggered this reaction in the Baltic states. And certainly there is an idea that Gorbachev has already lost time in trying to deal with the situation. Probably he should have gone to Lithuania a year ago when, you know, the situation was not so tense. On the other hand, when our liberals are crying that we have to catch up with the Baltic states by boosting our economic reforms I think it's also an underestimation of the complexities of the reforms and of the fact that the Soviet Union is a very heterogeneous country. We cannot move too fast because in this case we will lose regions and most probably even republics which are not ready to, you know, to take these drastic measures. On the other hand we cannot go too slow because it will mean that we will lose the republics which are, you know, more ready, more prepared to take drastic measures and to go into deep economic reforms. And from this point of view I think that it will also not be correct and it will not be right to say that the Soviet Union has to catch up with East European nations—because I know they, they will move faster than we are and I think that some alienation, at least for a certain period of time, is simply inevitable. We should take, we should take it as a reality.

[Goryachev] You call it alienation; it could probably be called healthy partnership-relationship.

[Plekhanov] Exactly. I think there are more good feelings between the Soviet Union and East European countries now than in the years of so-called unity, when everybody was really making a good face of fraternal cooperation but really not liking each other very much.

[Korchunov] Yes, well, you know, when I said alienation I meant that the leaders of East European countries will turn to the West rather than to the East because you know now perestroyka is not an example to follow, because they already, you know, surpassed many of the achievements of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. And I think, I hope, that they will move faster in future. I hope that, you know, their attempts to create a pluralistic, you know, multi-property [as heard] economic system will be a success and from this point of view I guess that we are much (?heavier) society than they are.

[Goryachev] OK, thank you. I think it's a good discussion but we could continue on the other programme about the Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the pace of reforms on both sides. To wind up this show could you briefly tell me, ah, you've been talking a lot about possible compromises. What are these compromises?

[Plekhanov] Well, I don't want to go into that, because, I mean, right now, the, the food is being cooked and I'm not one of the cooks. I'm just sitting on the sidelines. I don't want to comment on that.

[Goryachev] Andrey?

[Korchunov] Well, I think that everything depends...the solution is there you know, the scope of independence and the character of the federation.

[Goryachev] OKThank you very much Sergey Plekhanov and Andrey Korchunov. That was Top Priority; thank you for listening.

Lithuanian Political Debate Pondered

PM1701170190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy report under the "From Own Correspondent's Diary" rubric: "Lithuania: Seven Days in January"]

[Text] Vilnius—This was the first time that the country had seen and heard what the situation is like in Lithuania. For 7 days, throughout the Christmas week, the world's mass media (more than 200 foreign and 140 Soviet correspondents) were reporting from Lithuania. They were drawn there by the unprecedented acuteness of the situation and the unprecedented presence of the CPSU Central Committee in studying it.

So this was the first time that the country saw and heard what it knew by hearsay and from unintelligible newspaper articles and television reports which were plentiful at times but predominantly vacuous. Thus "measured glasnost" misfired once again, stunning the public with news of a split within the party.

The "diary" genre presupposes a chronicled exposition of events, but if we were to are talk about phenomena rather than facts, we would have to go far beyond the confines of January. I found the first reference to the possibility of holding an extraordinary party congress in a working diary at the very beginning of 1989.... This proposal was put forward and adopted at a Kaunas city rayon party committee [raykom] plenum. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau rejected, if not condemned, it. Unanimously. Nor did the idea of a congress win support at the 17th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, which some people describe as the last attempt by Stalinists and stagnationists to stifle perestroyka in the republic, and others as the last attempt to normalize the political situation in Lithuania and curb radicals who are sheltering behind perestroyka slogans but are really undermining perestroyka....

I do not want to engage in the ignoble task of comparing quotations from the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee report at the 17th plenum (February 1989) and the political report at the extraordinary congress, which proclaimed the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party (December 1989). Quite often they do not coincide—and not only, so to speak, word for word. I am only mentioning this to reveal the crack from which the split began. Some Central Committee members abided by the positions of the earlier 17th plenum. That deemed it necessary to broaden the rights and change the status of the republic's party organization. Financial activity, cadre policy, staff, and much else should be within the competence of the republic's Central Committee. The idea of an extraordinary congress was declined for many reasons.

When we had a chance to study the reasons which drastically changed the opinion of the entire Central Committee rather than just one man or the Central Committee apparatus, we inevitably came up against questions relating to the tactics of political struggle. The party lost power. Despite obvious results and the changes in political life, it remained in the shadow of "Sajudis."

Did you notice that M.S. Gorbachev and other members of the CPSU Central Committee commission were frequently reproached with the following: How did the Central Committee allegedly "miss" the development of separatist sentiments in Lithuania? Answer: They knew, they saw, they gave advice, they gave warnings, but....

I cannot help but confirm that A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, informed Bureau and Central Committee members on several occasions of his meetings, conversations, and telephone calls with the general secretary, who was concerned by the ferocity of the emotions in party debate and the thoughtlessness of the proposals which could entail unfortunate results. Alas, it came to pass.

Addressing a fuel apparatus plant in Vilnius, the general secretary said: Do you think that we should not have given warnings but used force? Or given orders? But after all, we agreed to manage without the old methods. We agreed not to return to the past, even in trivial matters.

One of the main questions facing us today is not, perhaps, what happened, but why there was a split, a sudden upsurge of emotion, and appeals for freedom outside the USSR. A brief reference to Paragraph 26 of the CPSU Statute is called for here. On this premise a routine Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, which, incidentally, acknowledged the incompetent high-handedness of the discussion at the previous plenum, announced a debate within the republic party organization on the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The debate duly expressed most unexpected proposals, but the main thing was the criticism of the sluggish center entrenched in its stagnant positions.

This debate, which concerned the future of the entire party, was autonomous in the full sense of the word. In effect grave and often unjust accusations against the party remained unanswered. Yet silence is tantamount to agreement....

In January there was a meeting at the Academy of Sciences of CPSU Central Committee commission members Ye.P. Velikhov, B.I. Oleynik, and M.A. Ulyanov. The discussion was trenchant and intense. Of course, they also talked about the occupation of Lithuania. Mikhail Aleksandrovich Ulyanov—I don't know about anyone else, but it is hard to accuse him of conservatism—raised an objection. The hall began to buzz.

"I am familiar with everything, with all your arguments," he said. "But let's assess the situation on its merits without looking at it from 1940 or on formalist indications."

Such authorities were needed. As were minds capable of taking part in the debate, voicing objections, admitting mistakes, and seeking the way to the future. What prevented them from extending the framework of the discussion?

What was the stance held by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and its leaders during the debate? I do not consider myself entitled to make such assessments but, if you will allow me, here is my personal opinion....

If at the height of the debate, particularly toward its end, any Central Committee member, any Central Committee secretary had opposed the overall mood, his fate would have been decided in advance. Only someone who shared the sentiments and aspirations of the great mass could win their gratitude.

At the height of the USSR Supreme Soviet election campaign, complaints were made on one occasion at a conference of raykom and city party committee [gorkom] first secretaries against Yustas Paletskis, head of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department (he is now Central Committee secretary for ideological questions). The crux of the complaints was that the party press did not support the party, that pluralism gave way to denigration, and so on.

"You probably want me to summon the editors and give them instructions as to what to write. But that is what happened in the past. It is in the past. Let journalists' consciences govern what position they uphold. Ultimately journalists also have the same party cards as you and I...."

This was not the first nor the only complaint leveled at the party press by party officials. Journalists were clearly opposed to the apparatus. They can be reproached with the fact that the apparatus is identified with the party itself and with their clear sympathies for "Sajudis," but love is not ultimately subject to command. It is another matter when love smothers all other opinions....

There was a moment in the speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich [Gorbachev] at the aktiv meeting in Vilnius that is hard to forget. Addressing a worker who stressed in his speech that he spoke as a worker—an ordinary person—and, consequently, expressed the opinion of the majority termed the common people, the general secretary expressed doubt as to the latter's sincerity. The hall began to buzz with resentment....

But what about the strange coincidences I noticed. In Vilnius at a meeting with the general secretary a worker said: We were poorly represented at the congress, but there is nothing surprising in that. (There were indeed few workers—approximately 20 per 1,000 delegates—and even fewer collective farm [kolkhoz] workers.) Our cause is the workers' cause. Let us work better. A worker said almost the same thing at a meeting in Kaunas: We are the people's "hands," but there are also the heads—it is their job to think. A worker at the Shyaulyay television plant said virtually the same thing.

Then Mikhail Sergeyevich voiced a sharp objection: There could be no democracy without the people's involvement in governing the state. All our past troubles stemmed from the fact that the people were no-account subordinates with no right to a voice when their fate was being decided.

Are there guarantees that this past will not be repeated in Lithuania when it acquires complete independence? I can cite dozens of examples in which a moral terror was declared against citizens who dared to oppose either "Sajudis" or Lithuanian Communist Party independence. The latter was conveyed from the aktiv rostrum—a secretary in the provisional Central Committee told how "well-wishers" telephoned him deep into the night with threats and insults. Abuse at rallies, offensive slogans, and pickets are, alas, also realities in today's Lithuania.... There was no end to roll-call voting according to status at the extraordinary Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, as those who voted against began to be expelled from the congress' working commissions. A loudly avowed desire for a multiparty system as a pledge of democracy was in fact translated into an offensive attitude toward those communists who wanted to remain in the CPSU. In their presence and in their absence the comrades-in-arms of yesteryear were described as the "nocturnal" party. A philosopher and academic respected in the republic ventured to make an offensive comment to the effect that a leader of the minority party he disliked was sitting on the aktiv presidium. That is sad....

An inexperienced viewer, watching M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with workers at the "Briday" Kolkhoz may have been surprised by the activeness and politicization of the countryside. Remember the slogans that greeted the general secretary at the machine pool? Remember how vigorously people joined in the debate with him?

But the politicized villagers were a "scratch team." The slogans which they stood by or repeated were surprisingly similar to those that we saw in Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaypeda, and Shyaulyay, although we did not encounter any comparable "...appeals" in the Lithuanian press. The incident when Mikhail Sergeyevich recognized one of his opponents from former meetings in the countryside may be considered quite curious....

I do not think that Lithuania has prepared itself for dialogue. Ideologist Yustas Paletskis' words at the rally which supported the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress decisions and was, in effect, directed against the CPSU Central Committee plenum which discussed that congress' decision have become bywords: "We will not back down. We will not kneel. We will win."

The entire nation rallied in a splendid upsurge—"Don't kneel." In a popular television program M.S. Gorbachev was sarcastically depicted as King Herod coming to Lithuania to kill the new-born babe—the Lithuanian Communist Party—although television later carried apologies, which obviously drew even more attention to the program.

The firmness of the majority determined to leave the CPSU was confirmed. Support was displayed for it among the people. What next?

Some people describe the 3 days that M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spent in Lithuania as highly important, giving these words their literal meaning—the Lithuanian situation does indeed demand an innovative approach. But there is also another opinion: We reap what we have sown.... It is said that there was order while the state held everyone in check. But now it has relaxed and allowed everyone to have their own opinion—and this is the result....

I realize that everything that the central press says about events in Lithuania meets with a hostile reception in Lithuania itself. No one troubles himself to analyze opinions and statements in the republican press—neither the "independent" or the "official" press. An attempt at analysis is seen as infringing on the people's sovereign right to decide their own future. It is our duty to the reader to make a lengthy digression into the reasons and circumstances accompanying the Lithuanian Communist Party's decision to leave the CPSU. It is not my duty personally. Not even the newspaper's.... It is hard to judge arguments that are unfamiliar to me, and it has been customary not to be too hasty in voicing opinions about the development of events in Lithuania.

Now all the omissions have become reality—a fact of our life. The country is at a crossroads where a short pause must be made in order to adopt a well-considered decision— especially since a well-considered decision is needed from Lithuania. Not from its acknowledged leaders, nor from the parties or "Sajudis," nor from radicals or conservatives. A decision must be adopted by the people, in whose name the boldest statements are being made.

I have frequently heard the following from Lithuania's inhabitants: Let us be poor but free. I personally can understand such a stance: It is dear to my heart and, if you like, accords with lofty moral norms. Freedom is not exchangeable for anything in the world. But historical experience teaches us that the choice of a path must be strictly checked out. The choice must be not only outwardly appealing but also mathematically reliable and able to last for many generations ahead. I repeat, the choice must be made by the Lithuanians; it is their right.

I have often given very different people in different ends of the country answers to the question: What is happening in Lithuania? The situation has now cleared sufficiently, so I will venture to give up examples and facts and talk about one impression from last summer in a health resort. It was in Nida on the Kurskaya Spit. The Baltic was rough, a belt of bad weather set in, and vacationists could do nothing but don warm jackets and sweaters, walk along the shore, and watch the leaden-colored rollers sweep onto and fiercely wash over the wide sandy beaches. Once the waves receded, people strolled along the surf line looking for amber.... I myself took a walk along the deserted shore, looking for the golden resin in the even white sand. Then I was met by people hunting for quite different gifts from the sea. They were picking up scraps of fishing nets, chests, polyethylene packaging, and worthless ship's tack.

I would like the sea to be clean. I would like it never to be stormy. I would like the sea to bring nothing ashore apart from the amber that promises the successful beachcomber happiness and good fortune as in days of old. But life is such that a stormy sea brings ashore both golden stone and common or garden rubbish.

Sajudis Leaders on Call for Independent Lithuania

Landsbergis Interview

PM1601123490 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 13 Jan 90 p 10

[Interview with Sajudis Chairman Vitautas Landsbergis by Ezio Mauro in Vilnius; date not given]

[Excerpt] Vilnius—[Introductory passage omitted] [Mauro] Professor, yesterday Lithuanians went into the streets to demand independence, sang their national anthem, and had their flags blessed by the crucifix, as though they were going to war. What next?

[Landsbergis] Now we await a reply, which cannot be a long in coming. Yesterday's demonstration resulted from the absence of replies from Moscow. We gathered millions of signatures for independence, our deputies had already delivered a memorandum to Gorbachev, and we asked the Soviet Government to start negotiations with Lithuania, but nobody heeded us. Now we have decided to say what we want on a day and in a place where Gorbachev could not fail to hear us.

[Mauro] But did Gorbachev not answer you here in Vilnius by declaring Lithuanian separatism unacceptable?

[Landsbergis] Basically, Gorbachev arrived from Moscow with a little formula already prepared and repeated it on the radio and television. This is not a reply: It is a deception, because it conceals the attempt to evade the real problem, which is the conflict between a major state and a minor state which has been made a prisoner by its powerful neighbor by force. Gorbachev, however, talks about the relationship of the USSR's republics with central government, promising that they will change—as though Lithuania were a Soviet republic on a par with the rest and not an illegally incorporated free state that has no desire to improve its relations with Moscow but wants to turn them into free relations between sovereign states.

[Mauro] However, Gorbachev did talk about a new law that envisages the possibility of the republics' leaving the USSR.

[Landsbergis] The mechanism that has been examined is such that nobody will actually be able to leave. If we were to acknowledge the worth of this law we would be acknowledging that Lithuania is a Soviet republic. Instead we will officially announce to Gorbachev that all this—including the law—does not concern us. We do not consider ourselves legally part of the USSR, because it was Stalin who seized us. We therefore call on Gorbachev to free us from this Stalinist legacy.

[Mauro] What specifically must the USSR do?

[Landsbergis] We are offering Moscow the opportunity to cancel out this international crime. The Kremlin could approve the formula that the West has proposed for Lithuania, namely, self-determination; it could start negotiations with Vilnius to achieve independence; it could take up the idea of an international conference including the participation of the USSR and Lithuania on an equal footing. Last, it could accept a referendum of the Lithuanian people. But there are no rights that Moscow should or could grant us. We are not a colony now ready for a statute of its own. We are an ancient European state created in the Middle Ages, with a history of its own that demands to be reestablished. Sooner or later the USSR must understand this—but so must the West.

[Mauro] Do you believe that the West is too cool toward Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] I would like the West to realize that ours is a battle for independence like that which Europe experienced in the past, but it is also a crucial test of Western democracy. Because that democracy's superiority over the Eastern systems must be above all moral. We shall see whether this morality of Western policy endures or whether it has been dispersed, replaced by realpolitik.

Too often were hear people telling us that if we struggle to the end we will inflict serious harm on the rest of the world.

[Mauro] What do you reply to this appeal for political caution?

[Landsbergis] That we do not want to sacrifice ourselves for the sake of the rest of the world. Why us? Why does some other free state not try living under the USSR for 50 years? We Lithuanians fought a desperate partisan war for 8 years, without hope. So when I am told that the West will not support us so as not to destabilize the USSR, and the rest of the world with it, I reply that we have never been too dependent on such support.

[Mauro] But while legitimately rejecting the calculations of realpolitik, can you not see the dramatic political situation affecting Gorbachev—a man who, through perestroyka, gave the Baltic back its own policy and its own voice and who is now being brought under pressure by that same policy and that same voice. Do you ever consider this?

[Landsbergis] Yes. And I have concluded that the dramatic situation is not Gorbachev's but perestroyka's—the great and terrible destiny of reform in a country such as the USSR, with its culture and its history. Perestroyka began in the USSR not because of someone called Gorbachev (though he was the right man at the right time and played, and still plays, a major role) but because of an imperative necessity. And we are implementing perestroyka, carrying it through to its conclusion—beyond human rights to peoples' rights; beyond the separation between party and state to a crisis of the old imperial form of the state, which could grant or withhold rights in its provinces, as the tsars used to do.

[Mauro] How do you reply to those who say that Lithuanian separatism could be exploited by the conservatives against Gorbachev?

[Landsbergis] The USSR's problems are vast, complex, and numerous. Should it inevitably be only the Baltic that weakens Gorbachev? Why not the crisis of state socialism in the East European countries? Why did they not tell Berliners to be more cautious in demolishing the wall or Havel to wait a little longer?

[Mauro] But Lithuania's secession would present the USSR with defense problems, as Gorbachev has pointed out. What do you think?

[Landsbergis] Politically, the USSR would gain a major advantage from our independence, because it would show the world that Soviet imperialism is dead forever, and its economic advantages would be even greater because capital could flow to Moscow from the West through the Lithuanian corridor. But the defense problem does exist, because it is linked to the USSR's military conception of itself. The fact that Soviet military circles are resisting Baltic independence proves that they are not abandoning their old doctrine—which is not defensive, as they claim, but potentially offensive.

[Mauro] Nevertheless you admit that the military problem exists: Does it have any possible solution?

[Landsbergis] We could even agree on the temporary continued presence of Soviet troops in independent Lithuania, if the USSR considered it really necessary for its defense. But the final objective is Lithuania's Finlandization. In any case, events could change the nature of the problem. If the Soviet empire of Eastern Europe turns into a kind of commonwealth, I am sure that once the neighboring Baltic states become autonomous, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Moldavia will also become independent states. The West is wrong to regard nationalistic tendencies as processes destructive of the USSR. They could even be restructuring processes.

[Mauro] What if Gorbachev were to fall?

[Landsbergis] Then we would suffer a disaster, with many bloody national revolutions. There is a danger of Gorbachev's downfall. But the only way to help him is to show how a bloodless revolution can be carried out.

[Mauro] Professor, will you see Lithuanian independence?

[Landsbergis] I am 57; my father is 97 and fought in the war of independence. During the demonstration in the square the other evening he was crying. He told me: I will not see a free Lithuania; you will. But what I saw today is enough for me; I would never have imagined it.

Virgil Cepaytis

AU1501175190 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 13 Jan 90 p 6

[Interview with Virgil Cepaytis, general secretary of the Lithuanian Sajudis movement, by Carl Gustav Stroehm: "Lithuania's Communist Party Is Just Performing Mimicry"; date and place not given]

[Text] Stroehm: Gorbachev has gone to Lithuania. How do the Lithuanian people envisage their future and what goals does your organization, Sajudis, have?

Cepaytis: Sajudis represents the wishes of the majority of the Lithuanian people. Our goal is an independent Lithuania. Only in this way can we guarantee human rights and a normal, secure life to all our citizens, independent of their ethnic origins.

We cannot wait until the so-called "renewed federation" develops, in the Soviet Union, which Gorbachev is promising now. Besides, this would be the wrong way of asking the question: As if the issue were to be the distribution of more or less freedom for us from above. The people in Eastern Europe have again become the subjects of history. They are taking their rights themselves.

real readiness of this republic to conduct a very broad debate with the people on the most urgent problems, and to jointly seek ways out of acute and grave situations.

The Vilnius party aktiv in which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev participated is fresh in all of our memories. Here is a short interview which our special correspondent Aleksandr Ruvinskiy conducted with one of the participants in that meeting.

[Ruvinskiy] Algimantas Juozas Matunevicius is director-general of the "Neringa" production association, a candidate of economic sciences, and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

[Matunevicius] The independent Communist Party.

[Ruvinskiy] The independent one. I would like you to share your impressions of the party aktiv in which you were a participant, as well as of the prospects of the further meetings and negotiations which you have planned.

[Matunevicius] The impressions from it have, of course, yet to be interpreted, as [have the impressions of] Mikhail Sergeyevich. However, all in all we liked the principles, although we are perhaps maintaining our own positions on matters of principles. That is nothing to be afraid of. And, as they say, we are not slamming the door and he is not slamming it either. A dialogue is underway, leading to some kind of agreement.

In principle our position is as follows. Perestroyka has slowed its pace in the Union as a whole. So we consider that this can be done more rapidly in the republic. This is not some kind of separatism or anything on our part. Sometimes, you know, you have the opinion that we want to cut all the ties—economic, friendly, and so on. Not at all. Neither I personally nor, I know, my colleagues, want to do this at all, because in any case we have to cooperate. We are neighbors, and we communists of various republics have to lie together.

Objective processes are underway they have to be interpreted, understood. There must be more of an exchange, and we will understand each other.

Lithuanian Party Chief Criticized

LD1601232190 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Excerpts] As we have already informed you earlier in our broadcasts, Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the now independent Lithuanian Communist Party, has been elected chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Nonetheless, the election of Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Lithuania, even though for a short period of time only will cause a lot of controversy among the Lithuanian people. [passage omitted] Now that the leader of the Communist Party has become President of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Communist Party retains its actual leading role in the life of our society.

Kazimeras Uoka, leader of the deputy from Lithuania, has strongly criticized the way Algirdas Brazauskas described the role of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the political scene of Lithuania at present:

Mr Brazauskas was not telling the truth when he said that the Lithuanian Communist Party was equal now to all the other political parties of Lithuania. Primary party organizations still exist in all the Lithuanian enterprises, and most of the top ranking managers are Communists and were appointed to these posts with the recommendation of the Communist Party. When will all this end? Mr Brazauskas tries to evade givng a direct answer, said Kazimeras Uoka, leader of the Workers' Union of Lithuania.

Answering to this criticism, Algirdas Brazauskas said that the new party program and statute provides for various organizational forums. On the other hand the Lithuanian Communist Party still remains the only party with which Moscow is ready to continue dialogue, and this fact alone is of great importance, as no problem vital to Lithuania can yet be solved without the interference of Moscow. This was once again proved by the visit to Mikhail Gorbachev to Lithuania, when it was difficult to distinguish the borderline between talks about inter-party relations and talks about interstate relations.

Foreign Media on Gorbachev's Lithuania Visit

PM1501142790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS roundup dated 13 January: "In Favor of Renewing the Federation"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The foreign mass media are continuing to give extensive coverage to the visit to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Newspapers, radio, and television have primarily drawn attention to the Soviet leader's statements in Vilnius supporting the renewal of the federation of Soviet republics and his criticism of separatists' positions.

London—Analyzing in detail the Soviet leader's meeting with workers at Vilnius' Fuel Apparatus Production Association, THE FINANCIAL TIMES described his speech as a "masterly example of an off-the-cuff speech combining common sense and indignation, warm words and trenchant criticism."

Commenting on M.S. Gorbachev's statement to the effect that a draft law on a mechanism for the union republics to exercise their right to self-determination,

including secession from the USSR, is under preparation, THE DAILY TELEGRAPH describes the elaboration of such a document as the "boldest step in 4 years of epochal changes" in the Soviet Union and the "absolutely logical extension of the perestroyka policy."

"President M.S. Gorbachev," the MORNING STAR points out, "has responded to Lithuanian nationalists' arguments with an appeal for dialogue rather than confrontation."

Washington—"A spokesman for the U.S. Administration has said," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, "that the movement in Lithuania and other Baltic states aimed at acquiring independence has put the United States in a difficult position... The administration hopes that Gorbachev will be able to work out an acceptable solution, even if this is not equivalent to full independence. President Bush has put very great emphasis on developing relations with the Soviet leader." The newspaper noted that "quite serious debates are under way" within the U.S. Administration "as to how far M.S. Gorbachev is threatened by the Baltic movements in support of independence." "Gorbachev has mounted a campaign to preserve the integrity of the Soviet Union, personally persuading people that there is a need for this," THE NEW YORK TIMES' Moscow correspondent stressed. Describing M.S. Gorbachev as a "strong leader who avoids acting from a position of strength," the author of an editorial in the newspaper pointed out that "the West can only welcome President Gorbachev's wish and that of the Lithuanians for a political solution."

An ABC correspondent announced that the Lithuanians were not totally in agreement with Gorbachev but nevertheless welcomed him. A television company commentator claimed that the "Lithuanians believe that Gorbachev's proposed 'divorce law' is only an attempt to win time. It may take years before such legislation is adopted. Meanwhile, it is believed, Gorbachev is hoping to make progress in the economy, while the demands for independence will die down."

Warsaw—GAZETA WYBORCZA notes that the main aspect of M.S. Gorbachev's trip to Lithuania is the fact that he recognized Lithuanians' rights to be manifest and well-founded, including their right to leave the USSR.

Paris—TF1-TV notes that during his stay in Lithuania the Soviet leader took advantage of any opportunity for direct dialogue with people. The television company broadcast a statement by French Defense Minister J.-P. Chevenement giving a high assessment of M.S. Gorbachev's activity and describing him as a "very bold man who is eliminating lies at state level and exposing the realities."

Vatican City—"The Soviet president fully supported the idea of frank and intensive dialogue with people who have appealed for independence from their great neighbor," a Vatican radio presenter stressed. "M.S. Gorbachev responded to this with an appeal for them to act reasonably in an atmosphere of mutual trust and—and this is the main thing—not to be in too much of a hurry, since haste may kill perestroyka and destroy what it has created. Gorbachev's appeal to the Lithuanians sounds reassuring: If there is still a basis for political solutions, we will find a solution to other problems together."

Riga, Tbilisi Solidarity Metings With Lithuania

LD1301155790 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Yesterday a meeting of solidarity with the Lithuanian nation was held in Riga, the capital of the neighboring Latvian republic. About 40-50 thousand carrying flags and placards gathered at the foot of the monument to freedom.

A similar meeting is reported to have taken place in the Georgian capital, Tbilisi. [passage omitted]

New Tallinn Mayor Aasmae Elected

LD1701105590 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Summary] The newly elected council of Tallinn City today elected Hardo Aasmae, scientific director of the "mainor" bureau, as the new mayor of Tallinn.

Brazauskas' Opening Remarks to December Congress

90UN0591A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 20 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] The 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress began on 19 December in the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] State Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet in Vilnius.

The congress was opened by introductory remarks from Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

He said:

"Dear Comrades! The time has now come when all that has for many decades troubled Lithuania's communists must be expressed and rectified. We all understand under what complex domestic and international circumstances we have assembled here. Not only Lithuania is watching us today, the congress is being followed closely by the whole Soviet Union and also by many people beyond. The letters and telegrams which that been received and the large group of journalists that has come to Vilnius at this time are testimony to this. Permit me to cordially welcome all delegates and guests present at this forum. It is significant that there has been no such representation of journalists at previous congresses of the Lithuanian Communist Party. We wish for them successful work and a benevolent attitude toward us.

"Although it is winter outside, it is in our hearts the hot summer of perestroyka. The hope of change ignited in April 1985 is increasingly becoming an unstoppable material force, which has subordinated to itself the

thoughts and feelings of the inhabitants of our republic. This force is the source of our present might. This force needs a rational and pragmatic mind and clear feelings free of suspicion and malice. Yes, the questions that we are obliged to answer are extraordinarily complex. They concern not only the communists but also the inhabitants of all of Lithuania. The republic and its concerns, difficult past, uneasy present, and future prospects have summoned us here. It, I believe, should be our reference point and measure of wisdom. It is our sacred unifying goal, and we are responsible for not losing it in the heated arguments on the issues troubling us. Those assembled here are only a small part of the republic's population. However, behind us are those who have delegated to us their thoughts and aspirations. Only by our cohesion, constructiveness, decency, and wisdom will we not disappoint them and will we accelerate the revival of our region and the renewal of the Lithuanian Communist Party."

Resolution on Status of Lithuanian Party

90UN0591C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 21 Dec 89 p 1

["Resolution of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania on the Status of the Communist Party of Lithuania"—date not given]

[Text] Fulfillling the wishes of the majority of communists, the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress resolves:

1. To reorganize the Lithuanian republic organization of the CPSU as the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

2. To confirm the following status of the Lithuanian Communist Party: The Lithuanian Communist Party is an independent political organization with its own program and statutes. The Lithuanian Communist Party is an integral part of the political system of Lithuania uniting on a voluntary basis citizens of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] sharing the aims of the Lithuanian Communist Party. The party proclaims its goals in the Lithuanian Communist Party Program and accomplishes them in accordance with the LiSSR (Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic) Constitution and laws.

3. The main goal of the Lithuanian Communist Party is an independent democratic Lithuanian state, realization of the humanitarian ideals of socialism—freedom of the individual and social justice—and creation of the conditions of historical continuity for the Lithuanian people and all inhabitants of Lithuania.

4. The Lithuanian Communist Party will aspire on the basis of democratic ideas to maintain equal-partner relations with the CPSU and other parties and public organizations and movements.

5. To charge the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee with determining the procedure of realization of the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party in accordance with the documents adopted at the congress.

7 Dec Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Decrees

Introduction on Political Parties

90UN0585C Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 8 Dec 89 p 1

[Introduction to Lithuanian SSR decree on political parties: "On Changing Article 6 of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR"]

[Text] Information on behalf of the commission for preparing the draft of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution was submitted by its chairman, a deputy and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Algirdas Brazauskas. He read the commission's decree, which says:

The processes of perestroyka which have activated life in the republic have radically changed the political face of Lithuania. Democracy is expanding, political pluralism has taken hold, and various political parties are being formed. All this creates prerequisites for a gradual changeover to a multiparty system. This is approved by the residents of the republic and the majority of party organizations and communists. This is shown by their orders to deputies to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania. It is quite obvious that Article 6 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution does not correspond to the principles of the existence of a civilized democratic state. In a pluralist society the political weight is provided not by formal criteria but by concrete deeds, a real and not a merely declared leading role. The political system and its elements are established in the constitutions of the majority of states. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet has instructed the constitutional commission to submit its proposals to the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet. At the same time it is necessary to earmark and legalize a mechanism on whose basis it is possible to solve problems having to do with the constitutional regulation of various parties and their activity. The constitutional commission of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] hereby decrees:

1. To submit to the 16th Congress of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet a new edition of Article 6 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution taking into account the suggestions and opinions of the Communist Party of Lithuania as a subject with the right to legislative initiative which should be formulated by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

2. To prepare and submit to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet the draft of an ukase on the status of political parties on the basis of which it will be possible to regulate their legal activity.

To request the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet to submit the drafts prepared by the constitutional commission to the commission for legislative proposals of the Supreme Soviet.

The commission chairman explained that today there are no legal documents that establish the procedure for registering parties. It would be better if the Supreme Soviet more rapidly prepared and adopted the law on political and social parties and movements. But, as we know, this work has not been started. We must hope that it will be done next year or at the beginning of the year and that the Supreme Soviet of this and the next session will adopt a law regulating the activity of political parties and movements.

(Conclusion in next issue).

Political Parties Decree

90UN0585E Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 8 Dec 89 p 1

["Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR on Political Parties" signed on 7 December 1987 in Vilnius]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic hereby decrees:

1. To recognize the Communist Party of Lithuania in existence at the present time as the legal successor to the Communist Party of Lithuania registered on 25 June 1940 in the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Internal Affairs.

2. To instruct the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet to make additions to the ukase of 17 February 1989, "On the Temporary Procedure for Registration of Political Parties," which will be in effect until the adoption of the Lithuanian SSR law on political parties.

[Signed] V. Astrauskas, Chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;
L. Sabutis, Secretary of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.
Vilnius, 7 December 1989

Party Leading Role

90UN0585D Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 8 Dec 89 p 1

[Law on change of Lithuanian SSR Constitution: "On Changing Articles 6 and 7 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Lithuanian SSR" signed on 7 December 1989 in Vilnius]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic hereby decrees:

To present Articles 6 and 7 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] as follows:

"Article 6. Parties, social organizations, and social movements are created according to the procedure established and are in effect within the framework of the Constitution and laws of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 7. Political, trade-union, youth, women's, veteran's, cooperative and social organizations and social movements, creative unions, and scientific societies, in keeping with their own regulation and program tasks, participate in the management of state and social affairs and solving political, economic, and sociocultural problems.

[Signed] V. Astrauskas, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.
L. Sabutis, Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.
Vilnius, 7 December 1989.

Latvian Supreme Soviet Session Resumes 11 Jan

Supports Lithuania

LD1201133490 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0800 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Statement adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic on 12 January]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] as the supreme body of power of a sovereign state expresses its support for the consistent course of the neighboring country, the Lithuanian SSR, toward independence.

The Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR recognizes the right of the Communist Party of Lithuania to be an independent organization and considers that the events in Lithuania bear evidence of the unity of aspirations of the people, the public organizations, and the republic's government.

The Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR considers that the processes in the Lithuanian SSR bear evidence of a practical implementation of the natural initiative of restructuring.

The Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR expresses its solidarity with the people of Lithuania.

Land Ownership Considered

PM1401134390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] Riga, 12 Jan—By pure chance, on the day when servicemen were helping combat a natural disaster—flooding resulting from ice obstructions on the Daugava—deputies at the Latvian Supreme Soviet session which resumed today were discussing the damage

caused to the environment by army subunits. The ranges and places where the units are stationed came under well-aimed critical fire.

A resolution adopted at the session instructs a working party, the Baltic Military District, and local soviets to draw up proposals to clear up the effects of army subunits' activity on the environment. It is planned to inspect the territories at the disposal of the USSR Defense Ministry, the KGB, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and determine the expediency and conditions of their further utilization.

Debate about who is to be in charge of the land continued during discussion of a number of legal acts and the alternative draft law "On Ownership in the USSR" prepared in Latvia. The republic deputies did not agree with certain articles of the USSR draft law drawn up by the USSR Supreme Soviet, particularly the interpretation of republics' property. Therefore a Latvian version will augment the two existing alternative drafts, and it is planned to submit it to the country's parliament. The main thing, deputies stressed, is to eradicate current practice whereby an object of property is owned by everyone and at the same time by no one.

The session examined a question in connection with the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Disparity Between Legislative Acts of Union Republics and the USSR Constitution." Here it was noted that only by delimiting the competence of the USSR and the union republics will it be possible to eliminate conflict between union and republic laws.

A number of grievances were leveled at the government of the country at the session—decisions on transferring enterprises and banks (except USSR State Bank institutions) to the republic's jurisdiction, on regulating the Latvian SSR and USSR budgets, and on foreign economic activity are not being adopted. It was said from the rostrum that immediate and exhaustive measures are needed to introduce the Law on the Baltic Republics' Economic Autonomy into practice as rapidly as possible. A decision was adopted to suspend the operation on Latvian SSR territory of the USSR Council of Ministers Resolution of 4 January 1990 "On the Transfer of the USSR Savings Bank to the Jurisdiction of the USSR State Bank" as it is at variance with the implementation of the USSR Law "On the Economic Autonomy of the Lithuanian SSR, the Latvian SSR, and the Estonian SSR" and to lodge an appeal on this score to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Amendments were made at the session to the republic law of criminal procedure on the basis of new union laws.

The hall of sessions did not escape the passions inflamed prior to the session concerning the state flag, anthem, and emblem. After heated discussion the republic Supreme Soviet expressed the opinion that it is necessary to change the state symbols of Latvia for those whose history goes back many decades. It was resolved to return to this question at the next session after the preparation of drawings and outlines of the flag, anthem, and emblem.

The session completed its work today.

'Substantial' Constitutional Changes

PM1401133990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by own correspondent I. Litvinova under the rubric "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR)"]

[Text] The work of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet resumed 11 January after a 2-week recess. The deputies had to express their attitude to changes in Articles 6, 7, and 49 of the republic Constitution submitted for discussion. As a result of discussion the following wording of Article 6 was passed by a majority of votes: "The Latvian Communist Party and other parties and social movements operate according to procedure laid down by the Latvian SSR Constitution and other laws of the republic." They cannot perform the functions of organs of state power. Article 7 in its new version [traktovka] puts republic parties and social organizations on a par in respect of the right to take part in deciding political, economic, socioeconomic, and cultural questions. Article 49 declares the right of the citizens of the Latvian SSR to join parties and other social organizations which do not have as their aim the violent change or overthrow of the existing state system or any other anticonstitutional aims. The state guarantees parties and other social organizations the freedom to carry out their statutory tasks.

The Supreme Soviet adopted a declaration on the Latvian Communist Party. It says, in particular, that the Supreme Soviet recognizes the currently operating Latvian Communist Party as the "successor of the party founded in 1904 and considers it an organic part of the political system of the Latvian SSR."

Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a television address in the evening. He said that the substantial changes in the Constitution were supported by the party group of deputies.

Debates were held on the draft law on ownership in the USSR and certain other questions were examined.

Multiparty System Approved

LD1201215790 Moscow TASS in English 2126 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Riga January 12 TASS—The session of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, Parliament, closed today.

Deputies passed the decision to remove from the republic's Constitution the provision enshrining the leading role of the Communist Party. By this move the Latvian

Parliament has legislatively opened the way to a multi-party system in the republic.

The new edition of the respective articles of Latvia's fundamental law cancels political privileges for party and other organisations of the republic, allows the establishment of various parties and public movements which do not set the task forcibly to change or overthrow the existing state system. Anatoliy Gorbunov, president of the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, described this step as the "beginning of a new stage in the development of democracy". In a TASS interview he said: "Already, nobody can have the monopoly on political power." At the same time, Gorbunov cautioned deputies and all residents of Latvia against manifestations of political discrimination and extremism.

Deputies also discussed several laws, including the alternative draft law "On Ownership in the USSR", prepared in Latvia. Latvian deputies do not agree with some articles of the USSR draft law elaborated by the USSR Supreme Soviet, especially with the interpretation of republics' ownership. The Latvian draft law is planned to be submitted to the national Parliament.

Some Latvian deputies voiced complaints with the USSR Government which, in their view, does not make decisions on the transfer of enterprises, banks, with the exception of the institutions of the USSR State Bank, under the republic's jurisdiction, on regulating the budgets of Latvia and the USSR, and on foreign economic activity.

Following a heated discussion, the Latvian Supreme Soviet expressed the view on the need to change Latvia's state symbols. It was decided to return to this issue when the drawings and descriptions of the flag, anthem and emblem are made.

Latvian Green Party Founding Congress Ends

LD1501155190 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The 2-day founding congress of the Green Party of Latvia ended on 14 January. Members adopted the party's manifesto, approved various questions connected with financial activity, and elected the party's leading bodies. [passage omitted]

Dissident Says Latvia 'Under Russian Occupation'

AU1501164790 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 13-14 Jan 90 p 4

[Unattributed interview with Janis Danos, chairman of the German Cultural League in Latvia and "leading official" of the Latvian Popular Front: "We Are Under Russian Occupation"—in Vienna, date not given]

[Excerpts] DIE PRESSE: Some have described the "European roundtable" as a party-sponsored event. How do you assess the value of this meeting?

Janis Danos: Basically, it does not matter who sponsors such an event, it might even be sponsored by a gangster. It has nothing to do with party politics, but offers the East and West the opportunity to come together. Thus, the Austrian People's Party has acted in a humanitarian way. We are most grateful for it, and have used our time well to establish or further develop contacts. [passage omitted]

DIE PRESSE: Is Latvian patriotism very strong?

Danos: Yes, but this does not only hold true for Latvian patriotism. Now we must struggle and get things in order at home. We are exposed to much greater danger than the GDR, for example—we are under Russian occupation. The Popular Front has been described as a nationalist organization, but we are only fighting for our home, together with all other nationalities. It is the rebirth of national Latvia on a completely normal basis.

DIE PRESSE: What are the objectives of the Latvian Popular Front?

Danos: It wants a normal Latvia with normal, democratic rules, with humane human rights, and a normal market economy.

DIE PRESSE: As part of the USSR or as a sovereign state?

Danos: We have nothing to do with the USSR, we were occupied. We are heading toward independence, there is no other alternative .

DIE PRESSE: Together with the other Baltic countries?

Danos: Yes, these are absolutely parallel developments.

Latvia to Reintroduce Lion, Griffin to Emblems

LD1701164590 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Riga January 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina:

The lion and the griffin, elements of Latvia's heraldry from 1921 to 1940, are making their way back onto the emblem of this Baltic republic. At the instruction of the local parliament, a commisson has started work to restore the colour and graphic drawings. The commission also deals with describing other, even more ancient state symbols, like the flag and hymn, which will also be replaced.

It took two years of debates and doubts to make this decision. The debates flared with special force on the eve of a meeting of deputies in January. The International Front of Working People, composed mainly of the Russian-speaking population, was strongly opposed to recognising the former symbols. It regarded the move as a return to the values of bourgeois regime. Radicals of opposing political forces, such as the Movement for

National Independence and Social Democrats, were also opposed. It could be done only if the former state was restored, they argued.

However, many deputies and representatives of the Agricultural Union, creative intelligentsia and authors of thousands of letters sent to the parliament held a different view. They said that the red-white-red flag, which is first mentioned back in the 13th century and the late 19th century folk prayer, which became a hymn, have always lived in the people's memory. These national symbols should be formally endorsed. They also cite the experience of East European countries, where the change of regimes did not lead to the dumping of historical relics.

The removal of the lion and griffin from the heraldry—the signs of the four Latvian lands—was regarded as a negation of ancient ties with Germany and Poland, which they also symbolised. The deputies said it was abnormal for the old and modern hymns to be played during festivals and for people to gather for meetings under various flags.

The majority voted for the restoration of the symbols. On February 15 the commission will present to the parliament drawings, music, the texts of the hymn in two languages and a provision stipulating the use of the symbols. Appropriate amendments to the republic's constitution will also be proposed by that time.

Latvia Denies TV Accusations of Short Deliveries

LD1701184390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Report by Riga correspondent (Vladimir Obronson)]

[Text] Quite recently, in the all-union television program Seven Days, it was asserted that Latvia and Estonia had reduced their contractual deliveries of foodstuffs to Leningrad and this was the reason why coupons [talony] had been introduced. Well, is this really the case? The deliveries have been reduced slightly, but why? As far as Latvia is concerned, our commentator on rural problems, (Mar Platuse), told us about it.

[(Platuse)] (?In the view) of experts and those who are engaged on this problem, the information broadcast on Central Television does not correspond to what actually happened. Not a word was said about the fact that the all-union fund pledged to deliver to Latvia part of the feed in exchange for milk and meat, and last year it failed to supply 350,000 tonnes of concentrated feed. Nevertheless, Latvia dispatched all-union orders of 65,500 tonnes of meat and 624,000 tonnes of milk.

[(Obronson)] That is, in general it fulfilled its obligation with respect to foodstuffs proportional to the deliveries of feed.

[(Platuse)] What is more, this year things are just the same. In order to fulfil the plan for milk and meat, 600,000 tonnes of feed from the state orders are missing. So, one should be objective on all-union television.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Appoints New Ministers

LD1501130390 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Summary] The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium met today. Three new ministers were appointed: Arder Vali, previously secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, was appointed agriculture minister; Peeter Palu was appointed minister of construction; and Juri Rappaport was appointed minister of Estonian SSR material resources.

The date for the next Supreme Soviet session was determined: it will take place 26 January.

The Presidium also discussed celebrating 70 years of the Treaty of Tartu on 2 February.

Estonian Officials Released From Duty

LD1701180690 Tallinn RAHVA HAAL in Estonian 3 Jan 90 p3

[Text] In connection with the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] "On the Government of Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic" law and the 21 December 1989 "On Reorganizing the system of Central Bodies of Estonian SSR State Management" decree of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released on 28 December 1989 the following persons belonging in the composition of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers:

Ain Soidla, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian SSR Council of Ministers;
Viktor Rayevskiy, of the duties of deputy chairman of Estonian SSR Council of Ministers;
Arvo Kaldma, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister of communications;
Valter Eks, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister of housing and municipal services;
Elmu Peek, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister of grain products;
Vaino Rajangu, of the duties of chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for Education;
Roman Shermeta, of the duties of chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for Statistics;
Ulo Tambet, of the duties of chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for Technical and Mining Supervision;
Mati Mark, of the duties of chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports;
Lepo Sumera, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for Culture and of the duties of Estonian SSR minister;
Aadu Kana, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for Construction, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister;

Matti Piirimaa, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian State Committee for Education, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister;

Georgiy Konov, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for construction, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister;

Vello Lind, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian SSR State Agroindustrial Committee, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister;

Tiit Kouhkna, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian SSR State Agroindustrial Committee, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister;

Juri Kraft, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for Industry, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister;

Sergy Sinani, of the duties of first deputy chairman of Estonian SSR State Committee for Industry, of the duties of Estonian SSR minister.

Estonian Social Democrat Forum Ends

LD1501122290 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] News from Tartu. There the forum of the Estonian Social Democrats ended today. Ain Saarna reports:

[Saarna] The forum of social democrats, under the chairmanship of Marju Lauristin, ended this afternoon [12 January]. The only tangible outcome of the forum was an appeal to the Socialist International movement. I will read a few sentences from the very beginning and the end:

We, the representatives of social democratic parties which are being born again in the Baltic sttes, and participants of the first Estonian Social Democratic forum, address all the members of the Socialist International with a proposal to lend support to the idea of including the Baltic question on the agenda of the Second European Conference on Security and Cooperation. We would like to feel convinced that our chidlren and grandchildren will be able to enjoy the same freedoms and same opportunities which all the other free European [words indistinct]. We appeal to the Socialist International for action which will demonstrate solidarity with our (?endeavors). [passage indistinct]

Estonian Congress To Take Place 11-12 March

LD1701120490

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1800 GMT on 16 January broadcasts an announcement that the "Estonian congress will take place on 11-12 March. Two telephone numbers are provided for more information, and there will be additional information on the subject in the press".

Red Cross Assesses Radiation Effects in Belorussia

LD1601221690 Moscow TASS in English 2155 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Gomel January 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lidiya Peresypkina:

People should be evacuated from areas in Belorussia with high radiation contamination resulting from the Chernobyl accident. This was established by a group of experts of the International League of Red Cross Societes which visited Belorussia

Experts surveyed the ecological and social situation in districts affected by the Chernobyl accident. Head of the group, Albrecht Kellerer, director of the Institute of Medical Radiology, FRG, believes the expedition has served its purpose.

For a few days, foreign specialists in medical radiology, social psychology and immunology met with officials and residents of the Mogilev and Gomel regions, and went to cities and villages to establish the nature and scale of required assistance.

"We got convinced that the situation is very serious," Kellerer told TASS. "There are areas where contamination rate is so high that they are unsuitable for human habitation. At the same time there are regions where people throughout their lifetime will not receive a radiation dose surpassing 35 Rem," he said.

"But even in those areas people are subjected to negative psychological effects, such as anxiety and nervousness. This interferes with a normal mode of life. For instance, parents do not allow children to play outdoors for long. The traditional diet has been changed. This largely results from the lack of information," Kellerer noted.

He said his colleagues and himself are of the opinion that local hospitals should have psychiatrists on their staff and that psychological assistance can be of much importance .

Kellerer said that the International League of Red Cross Societies will do everything possible to help the Belorussian people to eliminate the consequences of the accident.

Contaminated Ukrainian Villages Evacuated

18004001 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by D. Georgiyev, Kiev: "Chernobyl's Echo"]

[Text] The government of Ukraine passed a resolution on the additional evacuation of the residents of population centers located in the zone of increased contamination by radioactive fallout after the accident at the Chernobyl AES. This became possible with more precise information on the republic's ecological condition.

Fourteen villages in Kiev and Zhitomir oblasts and the rayon centers of Narodichi and Polesskoye and the urban-type settlement of Vilcha are among the areas to be evacuated. Altogether this includes 3,370 families, or over 5,500 people. New living quarters in multi-story buldings and individual homes, as well as the necessary social and cultural buildings will be built for them. Over 175 million rubles have been earmarked for this purpose. The construction is intended to take two years to complete.

Ukrainian Committee Sends Support to Armenians

NC1601124190 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] A Ukrainian committee called the Friends of Armenia is operating in Kiev. Among its members are many non-Armenians concerned about the fate of the Armenian people. As Aleksandr Bolshko, a poet, translator, and member of the committee writes, the committee was created during the days of Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia and Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. The main goal of the committee is to provide reliable moral support to the Armenian people and at the same time enlighten the broad masses of the Ukrainian people about the situation prevailing in the Transcaucasus in view of the fact the central and Ukrainian republican news media either keep silent about events there or give a distorted interpretation.

One of the significant actions undertaken by the committee was been the collection of many signatures within a few hours on a petition confirming the Ukrainians' solidarity with the Armenian people's just aspiration for the unification of the long-suffering Armenian population of Artsakh with mother Armenia and condemning the bitter blockade imposed by Azerbaijan.

The committee sent the following message to the Armenian people: Dear brothers and sisters, ancient fraternal ties unite the Ukraine and Armenia. Therefore, we cannot remain indifferent in the face of the deplorable events which are causing suffering for the Armenian people. We are disturbed by the gross pressure applied by Azerbaijan in response to the natural aspirations of the population of Artsakh for unification with mother Armenia. We are disturbed at the situation prevailing in NKAO and the dubious postponement of a political solution to the Artsakh problem. Dear Armenian brothers and sisters we say that we are with you at this difficult period of trials. Rest assured that you have many reliable friends in fraternal Ukraine who are always ready to come to your assistance. Dear friends of Armenia, the committee has also sent an appeal to the Ukrainian people, the message adds.

Ukrainian Cooperatives Form Trade Union

LD1701193490 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet held under consideration the matter of abiding by the law on cooperation of the Soviet Union as it is being carried out here in the city of Kiev. The Presidium requested that the relevant financial organizations have a better watch over the book-keeping and price-making practices in cooperatives so as to preclude their evasion from taxes. Presently there are more than 3,500 cooperatives in the city, which is by 1,200 more in comparison with their number at the beginning of last year.

At the same time the cooperative organizations of Kiev held their founding trade union conference where they adopted the charter and elected the governing bodies. They decided to call their trade union Yednist—Unity.

Ukrainian Deputies Urge 'Voluntary' Federation

LD1501134690 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Problems of renewing the Soviet Federation, touched upon by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Lithuania, have literally shaken the political activities of the Ukraine's inhabitants. This is testified to by numerous phone calls to Radio Kiev, television programs, public opinion polls, and meetings of working people. Confrontation on nationality differences can be avoided by changing the federation itself.

The republican club of USSR people's deputies adopted a resolution to this effect at its session. Serhiy Sobutskyy reports.

[Sobutskyy] The document stresses that the great-power policy of Stalin and his clique to create a unitary pseudosocialist centrist empire has ended in a fiasco. One of the fundamental goals of restructuring should be the creation of a genuine voluntary union of sovereign states and peoples after their self-determination—a new Union of Soviet Republics. The document notes that only political methods and means which are based on the inviolable rights of the peoples of the USSR can ensure the creation of such a united state. The USSR should be based on the complete legalization of a nation's right to self-determination in freely chosen forms of sovereignty.

The resolution urges inclusion on the agenda of the 3d session of the USSR Supreme Soviet a question on the principles of restructuring the union and on working out a new declaration on a new union treaty.

Ethnic Bulgarians' Society in Ukraine Discussed

LD1401172190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The language and traditions of ethnic groups in south Ukraine are being revived. In the settlement of Ternovka in Nikolayev oblast, a Kristo Botev Bulgarian Cultural Society has been set up. The humanitarian actions of the new society will facilitate the union of all Bulgarians resident in the oblast. Their forebears settled in the Bug Valley at the start of the 12th century. About 200 families who did not wish to submit to the oppression of the Turkish authorities left Bulgaria at that time

and founded the settlement of Ternovka, where the southern Bug meets the Ingul River.

About 3,000 Bulgarians live there today working as ship builders, machine builders and farmers. Many of them speak the original dialect of their forebears. After a break of 50 years, local schools have begun to teach modern Bulgarian. Anyone who wishes to learn the language, adults included, has the chance to do so. This is our duty, (Stoyeva), one of the founders of the society told the TASS correspondent. New text books are being acquired. Teachers have been on courses in Varna to increase their qualifications. The interest of young people in Ternovka in their original homeland has grown. Here we are placing great hopes on enthusiasts from the Odessa Society for Bulgarian Culture, who have begun preparations for compiling a text book on the history of Bulgaria.

The plans of the Ternovka Society also include setting up a cultural and ethnographic center with studios and interest clubs. The fact that local craftsmen have not lost the original arts of their forebears was attested to by an exhibition in the settlement's house of culture where Bulgarian embroidery and weaving was on show. Concerts were performed by amateur groups and folklore collectives.

Moldavian Party Head on Informals, Romanian Ties

PM1401205590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 p 1

[Interview with P. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, by I. Chernyak: "Why the BBC Praised the Central Committee First Secretary"—date and place unspecified, first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Extract from a BBC [British Broadcasting Corporation] report: "The situation in Moldavia is interesting. Petr Luchinskiy, the new first secretary, is trying to forestall events. Grossu lagged behind events, but Luchinskiy is taking on board many of the proposals made by the People's Front. For instance, a few weeks ago a demonstration was held in the main square after Ceausescu's overthrow, when the people were happy and demonstrating their solidarity with the Romanians. Demonstrations should be authorized by the city soviet executive committee. This demonstration was unauthorized. Nonetheless, at the people's demand Petr Luchinskiy went out onto the square, talked peaceably and quietly with the people, and they dispersed."

We asked P. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, to comment on this report.

[Chernyak] Petr Kirillovich, what is your attitude to the praise from this Western radio station?

[Luchinskiy] Praise is a secondary matter. The question is the truth, which should be the basis of any report. From that standpoint, there is a grain of truth in the BBC report. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is not only prepared for dialogue with social organizations—including informal organizations—but also considers this its duty. We are trying to meet with people as frequently as possible—in the streets and squares, in workers' auditoriums, and with the intelligentsia and informals, to answer the most scathing and awkward questions, and to jointly seek ways of consolidating society. We proceed on the basis that today any decision made without consideration for public opinion will not work, as a rule.

[Chernyak] What is your attitude to the Moldavian People's Front?

[Luchinskiy] My attitude is the same to all movements in the republic: If there are people who follow the informal leaders and if they support their demands we cannot fail to take notice of it. Our task is to integrate everything that is positive. I believe that the party today can retain its leading role, ideological influence, and prestige only by integrating all forces in society, without being scared of making the boldest decisions.

As for the People's Front of Moldavia, I respect it. We have businesslike ties with it; I see no major contradictions in our views.

[Chernyak] There have been increasingly frequent calls in Moldavia recently for reunification with Romania. It is said that these calls are supported by some representatives of the republic's People's Front.

[Luchinskiy] Let me say straightaway that these calls could only be heard on the first few days after Ceausescu's ouster. We can understand that. For too long there was an artificial barrier in many areas, for too long the desire for closer contacts was restrained—and by both sides. This was despite the fact that we were neighbors and had so much in common.... But today the overwhelming majority of the republic's citizens advocate not reunification with Romania but more intensive ties with our neighbor. The Communist Party Central Committee is unanimously in favor of this. Moreover, official Romanian leaders have of late repeatedly confirmed the status quo of the existence of Soviet Moldavia. Currently, together with the Romanian side, we are elaborating measures to normalize the situation. In recent days we have arranged good contacts in the economy, culture, and certain other spheres.

[Chernyak] There have also been demands to "open" the border with Romania....

[Luchinskiy] It was merely a question of freer exchanges and freer movement. After all, just look at how many unjustifiably large border zones exist today, just look at how many bureaucratic obstacles of all kinds need to be overcome even by relatives in order to visit each other! In the very near future, I am sure, most of these unjustified bans will be eliminated.

[Chernyak] What problem in the republic most alarms you at the moment?

[Luchinskiy] The most alarming thing is the tension on interethnic grounds.

[Chernyak] Has there recently been any event that provides grounds for optimism?

[Luchinskiy] We cannot fail to note that more and more inhabitants of the republic recognize the futility of this tension, and that there is a growing realization that we must satisfy urgent demands: Housing provision, food supplies, supplies of consumer goods—this is required by common sense! And in this we sense people's support, which is gratifying.

CPSU's Frolov Speaks at Vilnius University

PM1401195590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Discussion at University"]

[Text] Vilnius 13 Jan—I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of the newspaper PRAVDA, met at Vilnius University today with professors, teachers, and students as well as leaders of the republic's mass media.

The meeting turned into a continuation of the discussion which has been in progress for 6 days now between the group of CPSU Central Committee December Plenum participants and Lithuania's Communists and working people. Academician I.T. Frolov spelled out the philosophical concept of perestroyka and drew attention to the fact that the dialogue that is being conducted is unique proof of the need for joint profound reflection on the processes taking place in the country and the republic. The desire for wisdom compels understanding of both the diversity of events and also the diversity of reactions to them. The main thing is to find humanist, mutually acceptable approaches. Consensus would make it possible not only to find the optimal solutions for moving forward but also to preclude trends capable of calling the incipient perestroyka process into question. The main guarantee of the irreversibility of perestroyka lies in asserting the new thinking, changing social awareness, and also creating reliable institutions of democracy.

The meeting also touched on questions linked with the activity of the mass media. I.T. Frolov noted that they have still not attuned themselves to the processes taking place in the country. What are needed are analysis and reflection, not emotions. The task of journalists, as of doctors, is not to do harm.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary answered questions.

Professor R. Pavilonis, pro-vice-chancellor of the university; Docent Yu. Karosas, dean of the Philosophy Faculty; Professor Ye. Meshkauskas; Docent L. Tapinas; and other teachers, students, and journalists participated in the discussion.

G.A. Yagodin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Public Education, participated in the meeting.

Frolov Welcomes 'Friends of PRAVDA' Initiative

PM1701161590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Letter to "Friends of PRAVDA" from I. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and PRAVDA chief editor]

[Text] It was interesting to learn that new organizations of the broad public—Friends of PRAVDA clubs—have started appearing in some of the country's regions. Our newspaper already reported on the work of such clubs in Alma-Ata's Leninskiy Rayon and at Moscow's No 809 secondary school. Other clubs could also be mentioned. It is pleasing that these clubs are emerging voluntarily, on initiative "from below" and without any advance agreements or recommendations. People probably sense a pressing need not only to read but also to collectively ponder PRAVDA's material, and therefore to play an even more active part in political life and find solutions to pressing problems of the day.

Judging by the clubs' initial steps, work forms in them can be most diverse: sharp debates on fundamental political, ideological, and socioeconomic problems covered by the material, creative evenings, and meetings with authors including PRAVDA journalists. There are no ready prescriptions, nor can there be, because the idea behind the associations is not to score points with someone by means of yet another event but to embark on a frank dialogue about vital problems and get away from inertia and orchestration. Everything depends on club members themselves, on their initiative, on their best spiritual impulses. There can be no doubt that this innovation is an unexpected foreshortening of the desire for sociopolitical activeness and the development of the world-philosophical stance.

The editorial office welcomes this initiative and pledges to give the utmost support to the clubs and to promote their activity. In this context, we would like to call on all our readers and the party, trade union, and public organizations: Set up clubs of PRAVDA friends in plants and factories, on collective and state farms, in scientific institutions and schools; pay attention to everything useful that is produced by the new associations; support them by all possible means. Write to us: We are prepared to constantly cover your activity, report the experiences of Friends of PRAVDA clubs, and set up "feedback" lines.

Our newspaper is planning to organize a PRAVDA festival this year. It has been timed to coincide with 5

May, the date when the newspaper's first issue was published. We hope that similar festivities will be held not only in the capital but also in republics, krays, oblasts, and many of the country's population centers. The Friends of PRAVDA clubs could provide active assistance in organizing them.

Of course, we expect that the newspaper's friends will not only propagandize PRAVDA's material and help to boost their newspaper's prestige, but will also play an active part in agitating for it.

Our party is now actively engaged on perestroyka in the country and within its own ranks. It will be renewed when it assembles for its scheduled congress. Keen discussion of PRAVDA's "Debating Pamphlets" is under way in many collectives, and various social movements are emerging with the objective of achieving real and sound changes in the country's life. We imagine that, in the immediate future, the Friends of PRAVDA clubs will become one of the effective mass movements enabling everyone to channel his energy and ability for the benefit of our great motherland.

The editorial collegium wishes you all the best, friends!

Frolov Interviewed on Caucusus Problems

AU1701133290 Rome ANSA in English 1218 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, January 17—The political leaders in the feuding Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan "are not doing their jobs, not controlling the situation. In Azerbaijan, the Popular Front is practically controlling everything. In Armenia, aside from the (Communist) Party, other forces are taking power," according to Ivan Frolov, the editor of the Soviet Communist Party organ Pravda.

In an interview appearing in today's edition of the Italian Communist Party daily L'UNITA, the PRAVDA editor, and advisor to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, affirmed that it was wrong to expect Moscow to intervene and resolve everything. "Military intervention has now been requested," he said, "but this is an extreme initiative for which Moscow will blamed for later."

"Why on earth," Frolov continued, "should these Russian youths be sent down there? Why should other lives be put at risk? I would not be surprised if in Azerbaijan tomorrow their hate will be inflicted upon the Russians who live in Baku. In this republic, the criminal activities of those who were protected by Brezhnev have created corrupt forces which are more dug in than ever and, in fact, they continue to govern."

"This is a very dangerous situation," Frolov added, "Power is what is at stake... If serious measures are not adopted, then the situation will just get worse."

Later in the interview, the PRAVDA editor denied that what was occurring could be defined as civil war. "I would call it interethnic hostilities," he said, "A battle is raging impregnated with religious sentiments."

Asked whether there was an "Islamic influence" in the crisis, Frolov replied "A very strong one and this concerns us greatly for it is creating an unstable situation throughout the region."

Corruption Brings Down Maritime Kray Leaders

PM1601093590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent Yu. Balakirev dispatch: "Chairman of Kray Soviet Executive Committee Tenders Resignation"]

[Text] Vladivostok, 11 Jan—This has never happened in the Far East before. Valeriy Fedorovich Lutsenko, chairman of the Maritime Kray Soviet Executive Committee [Krayispolkom] and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet deputy, has tendered his resignation. This step was preceded by a session of the Maritime Kray Party Committee [Kraykom] Bureau. What happened?

The bureau decision is formulated as follows: "On serious shortcomings in the organization of a trade union cruise aboard the MS *M. Sholokhov*, violations committed in this connection, and immodesty displayed by individual leading workers in acquiring motor vehicles for personal use." Many details are cited. The organizers of the cruise to Japan from the outset infringed the interests of the enterprises financing the cruise. Of 365 cruise participants, 165 had no connection with those enterprises. Instead of trade union activists, economic managers and workers from the service and trade sphere, some of them with their wives and relatives, secured places on the cruise. In Japan, the tourists from precisely this category rushed to buy used cars, displaying a total lack of modesty and sense of proportion.

Cars were acquired by Yegorova, chairman of the kray committee of the construction and construction materials industry workers' trade union, Dultsev, chairman of the kray committee for tourism and excursions, and certain group leaders whose trip was entirely financed by the other tourists. Yashin, deputy chief of the Maritime Krayispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, traveled with his daughter (his son-in-law was also among the Far East shipping line passengers), and they returned with two cars. Two cars were also bought by Yefimov, chief of the kray administration for publishing houses, printing plants, and the book trade, and his wife. Two cars each were snapped up by Tkachenko, deputy director of the "Dalavtotekhobsluzhivaniye" association and his wife, and Suvorova, manager of a food store and her husband. A whole series of kray enterprise and association managers also acquired cars on that cruise. A number of party rayon committee secretaries returned with similar loot from a previous cruise. The guilty "figures" have received strict party penalties, including expulsion from the CPSU.

At the same session, members of the party kraykom bureau accused the krayispolkom chairman of illegally pocketing business trip money during another trip to Japan (under the auspices of the Peace Defense Committee). "During the cruise," the resolution says, "he had private use of a Soviet-made car, and he acquired a used foreign car—by which he discredited himself as a ranking official of the kray organ of Soviet power." Prior to the Bureau session Lutsenko put the car which he had bought at the disposal of the Krayispolkom Internal Affairs Administration and returned the travel money. He was given a strict reprimand and his party card was endorsed.

Now an extraordinary plenum of the party krakom and deputies of the kray soviet will decide the fate of V.F. Lutsenko as a member of the kraykom bureau and chairman of the krayispolkom.

Chairman Resigns Over Charges

PM1601110990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Morning Edition p3

[Own correspondent Yu. Balakirev dispatch under the rubric "Follow-Up to Previous Item": "Resignation Accepted"]

[Text] Vladivostok, 13 Jan—As already reported in IZVESTIYA (No 12), the Maritime Kray CPSU Committee [Kraykom] Bureau gave Communist V.F. Lutsenko, chairman of the Maritime Kray Soviet Executive Committee [Krayispolkom], a strict reprimand, entered on his report card: "For using his official position for mercenary purposes and violating the norms of communist morality."

Today, an extraordinary plenum of the party kraykom resolved to expel V.F. Lutsenko from membership in the kraykom bureau. A stormy debate was prompted by the sharp assessment at the bureau and the plenum concerning the actions of three rayon party committee [raykom] first secretaries and the deputy head of a party kraykom department, who acquired second-hand foreign cars while in charge of tourist groups on a cruise. Heated remarks were addressed to A.A. Bolyntsev, first secretary of the CPSU kraykom. He asked the plenum to take a vote of confidence. The plenum supported Bolyntsev in his principled stand and unanimously expressed confidence in him.

An extraordinary session of the kray soviet of people's deputies has been held. The discussion of V.F. Lutsenko's tendered resignation was pointed. The session accepted the resignation of the ispolkom chairman.

Airliner Crashes Near Sverdlovsk; 23 Killed

LD1301185690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a tragic report. At about 1300 Moscow time today [13 January], a Tu-134 aircraft flying on the Tyumen-Ufa-Volgograd route crashed 45 km from Sverdlovsk. On board were 64 passengers and 6 crew members. According to preliminary figures from the Tyumen Oblast Executive Committee Internal Affairs Administration, 23 people died; 30 people have varying degrees of injuries.

The crew carried out a forced landing in the field of a state farm after an engine caught fire.

Safety Systems Failed

LD1501231890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 15 January in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 2-minute video report by correspondent M. Lyubarskiy. The announcer introduces the report by saying: "As has already been reported, a Tu-134 aircraft of the North Caucasus Civil Aviation Directorate crashed on 13 January 45 km from Sverdlovsk. It was flying the Tyumen-Ufa-Volgograd route."

Over video of men examining wreckage in a snowbound landscape, reporter M. Lyubarskiy says that the state commission investigating the accident thinks that an engine caught fire at an altitude of more than 10,000 meters. The crew was unable to reach Sverdlovsk Airport, which had prepared for an emergency landing. The inhabitants of the Pervouralsk State Farm, where the aircraft came down, were the first to render aid, rapidly followed by emergency services. "According to preliminary data, 30 of the 70 passengers and crew on board have been hospitalized; 8 people, including 2 children, were virtually uninjured."

Lyubarskiy interviews some of the passengers, one of whom asks the aviation industry "Why did the passenger safety system, the oxygen masks, not work?" Lyubarskiy adds that the state commission is to evaluate witnesses' testimony to the effect that the emergency fire extinguishing systems and the passenger safety systems did not work. Video shows further pictures of wreckage being examined and cleared.

Occupation of Georgian Government Offices Denied

PM1801111790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 1

[Own information report: "Transcaucasus, 16 January. Tbilisi"]

[Text] Rallies have been held for 8 days at Government House in the capital of Georgia on the initiative of a number of informal political associations. Several dozen young people have been staging a 10-day hunger strike. The main demands of the participants in these actions—as their organizers have stated in an appeal read on republic television—is the restoration of the statehood of

Georgia and a visit by CPSU Central Committee Politburo members to the republic.

The rallies held during the first few days were the biggest, with up to 20,000-25,000 people, according to some estimates. The statement by one of the informal leaders of an extreme radical wing "about a crusade against communism" has provoked serious alarm among some of the inhabitants. The speakers spoke about the necessity for social forces to create national military formations.

Appearing on republic television, G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, described the situation in Georgia and its capital as extremely complex and fraught with unpredictable circumstances.

The rally fever started to abate during subsequent days.

There is a report in yesterday's papers about a Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session which noted that "the report in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA of 13 January about the seizure of 47 offices in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers building and parts of the Tbilisi City Party Committee and the Kalininskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee buildings was false."

Ethnic Clashes in South Ossetia Subside

LD1201171890 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Tsklhinvali (Georgia) January 12 TASS—Ethnic clashes in the South Ossetian Autonomous Region of Georgia are gradually subsiding, the republican news agency GRUZINFORM reports.

Georgian Interior Ministry troops are protecting public order across the republic. Mobile militia groups composed of ethnic Georgians and Ossets patrol streets in Tskhinvali.

Talks between party officials and government executives of the republic and members of the public in the region and the adjacent areas of eastern Georgia helped improve the situation.

Informal efforts to bring calm are already producing results. An appeal by women of south Ossetia to its residents said that nothing and no purpose can serve as a justification if blood is shed, if women, old men and children are subjected to ill-treatment. Everything should be done for both peoples—Georgians and Ossets—to escape with dignity from this situation by displaying wisdom and sense.

The call for prudence was also contained in an address to the working people of Georgia and south Ossetia, issued by a group including party and war veterans.

Muscovites Polled on Eastern Europe, Perestroyka

LD1201140890 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] A public opinion poll taken in Moscow has shown that most of those polled fully reject the Brezhnev doctrine which proclaimed the right to interfere in the internal affairs of other socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Eighty percent of the people said the Soviet Union should not oppose the intention of any of those countries to accept the Western model of economic development if it decides to do that.

When answering the question what the Soviet Union itself would be like in 10 years time as a result of restructuring, 21 percent of the Muscovites polled said it will remain a country with a socialist planned economy. However, 54 percent believe there will be a convergence between the socialist and capitalist modes of production.

Ligachev on Eastern Europe, Domestic Tensions

PM1601091790 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 11 Jan 90 p 5

[Report on undated interview with CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member Yegor Ligachev by Asmund Willersrud: "The Situation in Lithuania Is Very Serious—But Tanks Do Not Solve Any Problems"]

[Text] Moscow—"Both the Soviet Union and the Communist Party can continue without one or other little republic, but we cannot predict what misfortune can hit a little people if its leaders try to take it out of the Soviet Union."

So said Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Yegor Ligachev in a personal interview with SVENSKA DAGBLADET in which he warned that it could be the beginning of the end for the Soviet Communist Party if a solution is not found to the crisis of the Lithuanian secessionists.

Ligachev spoke very openly about the work of the Politburo, about his personal reaction to the accusations that he is one of the leaders of the conservative forces within the party, and about the fact that his name has been dragged into the corruption investigation into the two USSR People's Deputies Gdlyan and Ivanov.

Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev received me in his large office in the Central Committee's anonymous gray building on Staraya Ploshchad, a stone's throw from the KGB headquarters in the center of Moscow. The office belonged to Mikhail Gorbachev during the years he was responsible for agriculture. Agriculture is Ligachev's own responsibility nowadays, but as a secretary and Politburo member he plays a central role in the highest party leadership.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] The Soviet Union applauded the rapid developments toward democracy and freedom in Eastern Europe. Many people see Soviet

perestroyka as a necessary precondition for this "democratic revolution." People are also speculating about to what extent the Soviet leadership gave direct stimulus to this process and to what extent it contributed to the fall of the old regimes in Berlin, Prague, Sofia, and Bucharest. Could you help to throw some light on this interesting question?

[Ligachev] There are those who expected to see Moscow's hand in everything that has happened in Eastern Europe, but that is not the policy which is being implemented today. We are adhering strictly to the principle affirmed by the 27th party congress and the 19th party conference that all socialist states—like any other country—must be allowed to determine their our development. Unfortunately events in Panama bear witness to the fact that this does not happen everywhere.

What is happening in Eastern Europe and the rest of the world also confirms that we are living in a world in which we are mutually dependent on each other. Developments in our country have probably had a general influence on the international situation.

Events in Eastern Europe are in my view the result of both internal developments and external influence.

We welcome everything that is connected with the renewal of socialism. But I also want to say that (in Eastern Europe) processes are also taking place that are connected with the restoration of capitalism, the destruction of socialism, and the dissolution of the political parties that stood on a communist and socialist foundation. If one is to make a judgment, each country must be assessed separately—Romania is one thing, Czechoslovakia and Hungary another.

But in general we welcome everything which unites socialism with democracy. There are those who say that the development of society moves in the direction of so-called democratic capitalism, but that is a concept I do not understand. "Democratic socialism" sounds better—socialism and democracy are closer to each other than anything else, in my view.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] If you agree with the view that developments in the direction of democracy have moved more swiftly in Eastern Europe than the Soviet Union recently, is it possible that one of these countries could emerge as a model for democracy in the Soviet Union in the future?

[Ligachev] So far no model has crystallized yet in Eastern Europe. A model is shaped over a long period, and the reorganization of Eastern Europe has only been going on for 2 or 3 months. I read the Western press and am amazed that in it people consider that the process is moving more swiftly in Eastern Europe. It depends on whether you consider that perestroyka is a deviation from socialism toward capitalism—then the process is moving quite quickly in some places. But if perestroyka, as we understand it, represents an improved socialism and the exploitation of its enormous potential, then you have to seriously question the interpretation of the Western press. Everyone in both East and West is in favor of perestroyka, but there are individual politicians who want the Soviet Union to be weakened during this process and lose its international influence.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] Moscow seems to be less tolerant with regard to the similar processes taking place in its own republics. But is it really possible to view developments in the Baltic region, for example, as separate from the process in the rest of Central Europe? In other words: Will the process not inevitably end in the resurrection of the Baltic republics as sovereign states, independent of the Soviet Union?

[Ligachev] I think that it is inappropriate to draw such parallels. It is incorrect to equate the process which is taking place in our republics with that in Eastern Europe. There can of course be some common features, but the issues are different. The process which is taking place in our country is complicated. The relationship between the various nationalities has perhaps been the most difficult thing throughout the whole period of perestroyka, and if you like you could say that the intensity of the issue came as a surprise to us.

As far as the Baltic region is concerned, it is our view that we can give any people the right of independence and independent development—economic, cultural, and political—within the framework of the Soviet federation. Despite all the problems, there are many periods in our own history which can serve as clear proof that we can hold together as a state and confirm our independence through unity and through the regard for differing interests in our multinational state.

We do not think that everything is perfect, either in our federation or in the internal life of the party. But the best and most effective path for any union republic is the one which moves forward within the framework of the Soviet Union, in a renewed union. That is something on which we are working very intently at present.

I would also like to say quite openly that we really cannot predict what misfortunes could affect any little people whose leaders for narrow nationalistic reasons try to take it out of the Soviet Union. When we discussed the matter in the Politburo, I asked Lithuania's leaders how and on what points they considered themselves to have been injured. None of them was able to answer, not a single one of them.

So you ask: Why take this people out of the union, which has thousands of ties with the republic—economic, political, cultural, and moral. Why tear up these ties, and in doing so bring on oneself such enormous difficulties? Also, the other republics should also have some say in the matter, since they have all been jointly involved in building up the Soviet state and that republic.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] The Central Committee's critical attitude to the Lithuanian Communist Party's move to break away and have an independent party

organization is well known. Do you think that this is the most serious crisis ever for the CPSU?

[Ligachev] Yes, indeed, this is a very serious situation. It is the first time since our party took power that something like that has happened. But I would put it like this: The CPSU, like the Soviet Union, can of course live on without one or other little republic. I am not saying this to disparage this country or people, but it is actually possible.

On the other hand it is not to the advantage of the party, the nation, the state, or the large and small peoples which live in this country. The breakaway of some of the Lithuanian Communists does not strengthen us, and it is difficult to understand when they say that they lose authority by being members of the CPSU.

We cannot get away from the fact that this action (the Lithuanian breakaway) is designed to split the CPSU. This danger should not be underestimated. Of course, it does not mean the end of the party, but if you were to take a "so what?" view of it, it would mean the beginning of the end.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] What chance does Moscow have of taking countermeasures if the Lithuanians stand up for themselves and will not be moved?

[Ligachev] Let us wait and see. This is something that the plenum participants are at present working to solve together with the Lithuanian Communists. Every individual Communist in Lithuania must decide for himself what party he wants to belong to.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] Presumably it is unnecessary to ask whether tanks will be the final way out—the Lithuanians themselves consider this to be an unrealistic measure in the present situation.

[Ligachev] We have had examples enough, and realize that you do not solve such problems with tanks. You can achieve a temporary success, but later major debits accrue in you account and they are impossible to pay off. History is rich in such examples, and if you have not learned from it you should not be a politician.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] The Soviet Union is now the only country within the Warsaw Pact which wants to retain the constitutionally enshrined leading role of the party. As far as I understand it, you personally are no supporter of ending the party's monopoly on power. But how long can the party resist the pressure without violating the new democratic principles?

[Ligachev] Under the conditions prevailing at present I am deeply convinced that we must preserve the one-party system. We have so many complicated problems, particularly with regard to the antagonisms between nationalities, that a multiparty system would only divide our nations.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] Do you agree that 1989 was the year when the confrontation between two clearly differentiated fronts—the radicals and the conservatives—within the party manifested itself fully in Soviet political life?

[Ligachev] I honestly do not know what all that means—left-wing radicals, right-wing radicals, conservatives, left-wing conservatives. The main problem is to strengthen the ideological base and the party's cadre organization. It is no accident that in his report Mikhail Gorbachev said that "the fate of perestroyka lies in the unity of the party." An overwhelming majority are in favor of perestroyka. However, there are individuals in the party who not only take part in but also lead nationalist, separatist, and anti-Soviet groups. You cannot be both a Communist and a separatist at the same time. You have to make up your mind on this point.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] On several occasions you yourself have hinted that there can often be discussion and disagreement on individual issues in the Politburo. Could you say something about which issues are the subject of such discussion?

[Ligachev] It is interesting that you Western journalists are so interested in what antagonisms there are. Why are you not interested in the agreement? On strategic issues we are agreed, otherwise we would have no business in this body.

Differing views do happen from time to time on individual issues. This was the case, for example, when we dealt with the question of the cooperative movement, and now the Supreme Soviet has amended the activities [verksamheten] to include individual cooperatives [sentence as published]. There was also discussion of the question of whether the first secretaries of party organizations at district and republic level should chair the local soviets. The wisdom of the leadership does not only lie in making decisions, but also in realizing what consequences the decisions can have. Sometimes the solutions are brilliant, but in some cases the decisions do not work at all.

[SVENSKA DAGBLADET] Is it correct that nowadays the Politburo meets less often than it did in the past—not even once a week?

[Ligachev] We meet almost every week, as often as is necessary. Sometimes it happens that we do not make public any account of the meetings. There is nothing which forces us to hold a given number of Politburo meetings.

Journalist Analyzes Gorbachev's Character

PM1701105590 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 7 Jan 90 p 8

[Article by Ales Adamovich: "'Sakharov and People Like Him...'"]

[Text] This ["Sakharov and People Like Him"] was the phrase used by one of the speakers at the First Congress of People's Deputies during the notorious "anti-Sakharov majority rally".

Who are "the people like him"? The speaker could not possibly have meant Gorbachev. And yet world public opinion holds the two in equal esteem. Not necessarily because their positions were similar. The two men differed on many issues when perestroyka's restless first-born, the First Congress of People's Deputies, was divided.

However, considering the exclusive role both Sahkarov and Gorbachev have been playing in the process of perestroyka, they are truly alike.

Sakharov mapped perestroyka's routes and formulated the fundamentals of new thinking and new feeling, pushing politicians towards moral decisions in home and foreign policy. Intellectually and morally, perestroyka ripened under the strong influence of his personality.

Gorbachev made urgent social necessity a political reality and turned the new thinking into state policy. He also released the man we needed so much from the exile Brezhnev had condemned him to.

History and fortune put Sakharov to a tough test but eventually bestowed on him the winning role of spokesman for the pure and politically untarnished truth of legal and humanitarian renewal.

In Gorbachev's case history and fortune chose a different sequence of events. The burden of perestroyka he took upon himself made his political life hard and complicated in a new way, a real test of his willpower, views and, above all, character.

It is Gorbachev's character that I would like to write about, although this subject is traditionally considered unwelcome during a politician's lifetime. Of course, I will only tackle the more definable and tangible aspects of this vast topic.

When Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan met in Reykjavik and failed to agree on how to stop the world slipping down the nuclear abyss, the markedly different reaction of the two leaders to the sad event prompted me for the first time to regard Gorbachev's peacemaking efforts as a manifestation of his nature rather than policies or views. Otherwise, he would not have been able to withstand the instinctive resistance of the two inveterately militaristic and mutually distrustful establishments.

Why did his earnestness work wonders worldwide, but not at home? What is the problem? History? Tradition? The political situation?" Or mistakes and miscalulations?

Let me say outright that I cannot answer this question definitively. But I can at least pose it.

When analyzing the situation in this country and the actions of the leader of perestroyka, some people reason like this: "All right, he has started it all, and we must be thankful, but at the present stage more resolute and tough action is needed. He is either unable or unwilling to act in this way."

Well. I can agree with the call for more resolution. But what about toughness? I feel like thinking twice about this.

Our history has seen too much toughness, violence and cruelty. Where have they got us?

They say the mechanism of violence can be used rationally. Blood could be spilled only when absolutely necessary. Big-time politics could never do without bloodshed, they say. Even Khrushchev could not help it - in Hungary and Novocherkassk. He thought he was defending socialism. History has already passed its verdict. What he suppressed was not a counterrevolution, but a revolution (in Hungary). What he drowned in blood was the Novocherkassk workers' attempt to spur on his own movement towards political reform (as our miners today). As for Brezhnev, in Czechoslovakia, May 1968, our own hopes for a renewal of the system sinking into marasmus were dashed.

Perhaps it is to atone for past bloodshed (including Stalin's crimes, of course) that history has granted us a leader whose whole behaviour seems to imply: "I'd rather leave than spill blood, or bang my fist on the table." Well, he sometimes does bang his fist—when they really beg for it.

"Please, strike hard—even if it's also against us, as long as it's against them, too!"

Can you achieve anything in this country with his character, mentality and psychology—without a strong hand? He risks being misunderstood, or just losing people's respect altogether. Remember the respect people had for Stalin!

Isn't there a risk that his personal democratism and non-violence could be regarded as his weakness—in a country accustomed to a different style of leadership?

Why didn't Reagan regard Gorbachev's obvious pliancy in the most risky cases as his weakness? Why did the damned imperialists choose to scrap their Pershings rather than take advantage of us?

A real mystery. Gorbachev's stake on non-violence work wonders internationally, but not domestically... As if we are a different species, a different people. Or, perhaps, we have got ourselves into a mess that we simply cannot get out of "honourably"?

I don't know. But I admit I feel very apprehensive about the possibility of losing the only leader who has renounced the principle and method of fist-banging and cruelty to get just another "butcher" or "lumberer" who would fell people like trees. I do not want to beg him:

"Don't yield to us, don't bow to blackmail from the right or to approaches from the left! Act more resolutely and, perhaps, more confidently, using your own means and methods! Be human. We want so much to become human, at last!"

Today, the principle of taking into account and reconciling common interests is the most correct and, perhaps, the only available means of assuming common salvation. And it somehow works.

But not inside this country. Here even liberals are suggesting that the leader of perestroyka become a dictator. Of course, they dream of a benevolent and enlightened dictator. They dream of cold fire, and of hot ice...

Perhaps, after all personnel does decide everything, as the famous phrase goes. The difference between Gorbachev's foreign policy and domestic policy teams is too marked. It is the latter who treat the priority of universal human values over class ones with caution, bordering on disapproval. It is only natural, therefore, that they should try and whip up "class hatred" among people who respect whoever wants to live better by working better. Similarly, they are unlikely to rush to adopt radical laws on property, land and the press.

Generally speaking, much is unclear about perestroyka leader's "team" or "teams". People applaud Gorbachev as the more odious figures of the Brezhnev times disappear. But they can't help looking in despair at their replacements. All of them come from the same basket," a knowledgeable person explained to me once. So there's little choice, then?

Also, when a notoriously resolute person promises to be our leader for another five years, I feel like asking: couldn't the five-year plan be fulfilled in two years?

However, when I look at the rising "personnel" tearing off their uniform sheepskin party committee coats in true proletarian fervour as they address public rallies and openly offer themselves as leaders, I have second thoughts. The present ones are at least unable to deceive anyone any longer, whereas the new ones have a richer vocabulary and greater reserves of demagogy and cynicism.

A king is what his men make of him. The same applies to leaders. What sort of image can such men create for the perestroyka leader in people's eyes? They can only undermine his prestige.

Regeneration of the party is vital. But not through such replacements. Time will show if there is enough democratic energy in the ranks to thrust the really good ones to the fore from the grass roots.

The Congress of People's Deputies has noted some anxiety that the Central Committee announce at the next congress the withdrawal of their deputy - our Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, as unsuitable. The deputies have proposed various amendments to the Constitution to ward off such a surprise development and protect the Chairman from the pressure of the Party apparatus. Such guarantees are badly needed. When the President is protected from the apparatus, and has a free hand in carrying out radical political and economic reforms, when the people are guaranteed against the excesses of personal power by direct general election of the President, whose term of office is limited by the Constitution and the people's mandate; when a really working parliament exists, then we may find that we are not as bad as we generally think; that what we really need is not the banging fist but the qualities we are unable to appreciate today.

Let's not be too self-deprecating. After all, we are still able to produce individuals like Andrey Sakharov from our midst.

Here is my New Year Eve forecast: 1990 will be the year of Sakharov's Constitution. Its main features and the very name of its author, whom Academician Likhachev called "the man of the 21st century" guarantee its lasting significance. It is high time we had a Constitution we and our offspring could be proud of.

Glasnost in CPSU Requires Plenum Transcripts

PM1701110990 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 7 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report on editorial office discussion involving Communist deputies Mikhail Ulyanov, Leonid Bliznov, Aleksandr Gelman, Andrey Sebentsov, and Nikolay Travkin: "Reform in the Party Must Start With Glasnost"]

[Text] There was much public interest in the recent Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, to decide the destinies of the Party and the country. But the verbatim reports of the discussions have not even been published in abridged form. Even people's deputies of the USSR who are members of the Party found themselves in a predicament—what answers could they give voters?

A group of Communists—people's deputies of the USSR—met at our editorial office. Mikhail Ulyanov, Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, shared his impressions of the Plenary meeting. Taking part in the exchange of views were: Leonid Bliznov, Aleksandr Gerlman, Andrey Sebentsov and Nikolay Travkin. MN publishes a short summary of the discussion that took place.

Mikhail Ulyanov: In the final analysis, the Plenary Meeting arrived at a balanced conclusion, which, from the very beginning, had been expressed in Mikhail Gorbachev's report. But that was at the very end. At first, a totally different line prevailed.

The Plenary Meeting's agenda was an emergency one. The decision of the Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania to secede from the CPSU was unexpected, moreover, it threatened to start a chain reaction. So the

Plenary Meeting very distinctly identified positions and views in the Central Committee.

Initially, some participants had just one reaction—to punish and forbid. To teach a lesson—to expel the leaders of this splinter group from the CPSU.

Others warned that such tough actions would alienate Lithuanian Comunists and the Republic's population even more, and that there would be less chance of finding a mutually acceptable solution.

I compare two different forums. In the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies occasionally "work for the TV camera", speaking with their sights set on votes. This isn't very good. But, feeling the eyes of the whole country set on them, people's deputies never forget that the world is bigger than that parliament building. They remember that there is a vast country out there, and that it's simply impossible to dictate their decisions to it—they have to act, taking account of realities.

The most burning issues of society's life are also discussed at Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee. Yet, much to my regret, quite a number of participants still consider the Plenary Meeting to be able to seal the country's destiny, disregarding what is going on outside the hall, all the more so that Plenary Meetings are closed. If a problem arises, these people do not tend to look for new approaches, but demand that life return to its previous tranquility. Hence the ultimatum-directive tone of some statements.

In reply to demands to "punish", Gorbachev declared sharply and categorically that he would not take that road. And it is clear why he usually acts prudently, not allowing himself to be pushed.

Gorbachev does not betray his convictions that force, coercion and repression will not solve any of the problems, fortunately. But how much will it cost him to keep to that course!

Nikolay Travkin: Questions, besides the "Lithuanian" one, were raised in connection with the Plenary Meeting. How much energy have some of our colleagues-deputies spent on persuading us not to cancel, nor even discuss at the 2nd Congress Article 6 of the Constitution proclaiming the CPSU's leading role in society? All well and good, they secured their ends at that Congress. But, there are no rights without duties: if the Party has been granted a special role by the country's Constitution, the Party simply has no right to discuss the country's problems behind closed doors. And what secrets can there be from all the other members of the Party? Does the secession of the Lithuanian CP affect it alone and the CPSU Central Committee, and not the Party as a whole?

Leonid Bliznov: So far, I don't feel I have enough information to pursue the Party's line in the Supreme Soviet. Yet this is my major task as a member of the CPSU. The materials of Plenary Meetings must be published. Otherwise you are left with only the dregs.

Andrey Sebentsov: The Party must understand, finally, what state it is in, where it is going and how effective its structures and leading bodies are. How is it possible to advance towards the 28th Party Congress without full clarity on this matter for each member of the CPSU? The Broad Party discussion to be opened by the extended Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee in January will provide this clarity. But it must be extended not only in terms of who is invited to attend. Much more important is that it should be in a position to combine and take stock of Communists' views on all questions of Party life without exception. A must for this the publication of the complete texts of discussions at the latest plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee.

Nikolay Travkin: All too often we hear calls for supporting the General Secretary because, we are told, he is under much pressure from the Party bureaucracy. But can you tell me how I can possibly judge this correctly if I am only given Gorbachev's speech to read and not a single word from the statements of those who, as all signs indicate, criticized him? After all, it's simply impossible to size up the result of an action if you don't know the reaction. As long as we are without full information Gorbachev is bound to be reproached with not taking a definite line. But, if people saw for themselves how difficult things must be for him, they would give him much stronger support.

Mikhail Ulyanov: I believe that even in Lithuania they will show more patience and circumspection if they can learn the details of the discussion which took place at the Plenary Meeting. It seems to me that many people in that Republic see the Centre as something solid, something threatening them. But this is not the case. In the Centre there are quite a number of forces which Lithuanian comrades should support, for their own interests.

Aleksandr Gelman: The discussions at the CC Plenary Meetings should also be looked at in the light of how the Party must prepare for its 28th Congress. After all, the task of the Congress is radically to renew the CPSU's ideology. This will not happen if preparations for the Congress and the elections of delegates proceed in the traditional way. In the past four years deep-going internal divisions have taken place in the Party which the present composition of the Central Committee, judging from appearances, does not adequately reflect. In this connection, it would be advisable to set up a special committee authorized to carry out all work in preparing the Congress. This committee could include not only Central Committee members, but also Party members—people's deputies of the USSR, representatives from local and even primary organizations who have proved their mettle as persistent champions of democratic renewal. This measure, I believe, is fully consistent champions of democratic renewal. This measure, I believe, is fully consistent with the logic of the transition period and will meet with approval in the Party.

And, of course, I wholly support everything that has been said here about the need to have the verbatim reports of the two December Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee published in full. An end must be put to the right to non-glasnost enjoyed by the privileged leading bodies of the CPSU. This right harms the Party's prestige, causes bewilderment and encourages protest from rank-and-file Communists. 1990 must become the year of real openness in the work of the Party at all levels and without exception.

RSFSR 'Crisis of Unity' Predicted

PM1201160590 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 1, 1990 pp 36-37

[Article by Kseniya Myalo and Petr Goncharov in "What Will the New Year Bring?" feature: "Towards a New Geopolitical Situation"]

[Text] The developments in Eastern Europe, now commanding the world's attention, have been detonated by Soviet perestroyka; superimposed on it now by the law of wave interference, they suggest inevitable comparisons (as already pointed out at the Congress).

These developments have already caused considerable geopolitical changes in Europe and set vast ideological and historical strata in motion over an area spreading from Peking to Prague—the area which has been in the past seventy years the scene of a drama of left-wing socialist and radical communist ideas now dismissed as "administrative-command socialism" to prevent speculations about their immediate and long-term consequences. This lends special urgency to the need for an adequate assessment of the situation now developing in our country—the source and the epicentre of the entire process.

Let's face it: the euphoria of the early years of perestroyka, the atmosphere of springtime hopes and expectations have worn off appreciably here—and not only for the reason of steadily growing shortages and rampant crime. Even the least socially sensitive people absorbed in their day-to-day affairs cannot but feel social tensions caused by Karabakh, Fergana, Tbilisi, Abkhazia, Southern Ossetia, by the political strikes in Estonia and Moldavia, with hundreds killed, with hundreds of thousands refugees, with teenage soldiers burnt like World War II tankmen—is that what we have withdrawn them from Afghanistan for? Our dangerous habit of describing any social pathologies now as "survivals of the past," now as the inevitable concomitants of building the future has shown this time, too. Therefore the word "crisis" as applied to the situation in the country still does not "take" on our newspaper pages, although there is every indication that we are in the throes of a large-scale structural crisis (i.e., connected with the malfunctioning of certain government bodies at various levels), which, what's more, is steadily developing into a global and irreversible crisis of the system as a whole.

As a matter of fact, the danger of such a transformation loomed early in the perestroyka period, when it became clear that relatively smooth withdrawal from the crisis, not complicated by fierce socio-economic conflicts could be effected only through prompt radical reforms of political and economic structures.

When restructuring a society as ill as ours, special importance should have been attached to ensuring the consensus principle, to setting its overall objectives and estimating its psychological resources—in the final analysis, to defining its basic concept which could become a strong and solid core of the reform process.

The moulding of the public-spirited personality capable of shouldering the burden of this process assumes extraordinary importance in view of the obvious demoralization, corruption and degradation, which have affected our society.

Unfortunately, our society—for all its enthusiasm about perestroyka - proved unprepared for such an approach to it, and had a vague notion of its objectives and especially of the ways to accomplish it. The spirit of naive Rousseauism set in, and it seemed to many that once the oppressive "administrative-command system" (a notion which like all the universal formulae presently assumed the nature of a magic incantation), is removed, an ideal person and citizen will appear on the arena of public life - from God knows where. The only problem seemed to be to give him unlimited freedom of action, and all the rest would happen automatically. The conflict between the public and cooperatives taken over by "businessmen" grown in the test tube of the shadow economy, and the reinforcement of the army of criminals due to a miscarried "humanization" of the law enforcement agencies constitute only the tip of the iceberg of these Rousseauist experiments.

This simplistic scheme produced another, less evident, but much more substantial and far-reaching result: the idea of individual and national emancipation as the abandonment of state control because the power of the omnipotent centralized state—the Leviathan—was the only form of political power known to most people. It was left out of account somehow that the lifting of state control is a blessing only if it paves the way for a civil society and gives scope for the activity of individuals with a highly developed sense of civic duty.

Otherwise, the lifting of state control may readily result in the desocialization of the individual who gets no compensation for the breaking of the established political links and for the disintegration of the state as such. A disintegration, which is all the deeper, since the previous, now dismantled, consensus which is supposed to have seen the nations of our country through hard but heroic times, has left behind a yawning void which needs filling.

As inevitably, therefore, the idea of a state common to all seeking common ways out of the crisis which has hit it is ousted by a national or ethno-territorial idea, which in

the case the process is radicalized is promptly transformed into a nationalistic or quasi-nationalistic idea.

In our multinational Union, the relatively mononational territories obtain, in this very idea, a new consensus in no way related to the former one but, on the contrary, strikingly opposed to it. In this case they inevitably begin to move towards absolute self-determination, and in the long run, towards a withdrawal from the existing whole, because the nationalist or quasi-nationalist idea is used as a means of building up individual nations' own, even though illusory, statehood.

It is left out of account somehow that such attempts to escape from the crisis zone one by one led to the further aggravation of the crisis, especially considering that we have practically no mononational territories (except Armenia and, to a certain extent, Lithuania). Therefore the rallying of one ethnic group around its national flag inevitably provokes others into following suit.

What's more, at a certain stage of this process, which until now has been going on in the periphery, the "centre," Russia, deceptively stationary until now, comes into play. In ethnocratic ideologies the "centre" has become a negative pole, an object to vent negative emotions on - ad infinitum, it seemed.

This is precisely the stage we are now at, and the aggravation of all kinds of crises, including the crisis of unity on the territory of the Russian Federation in the course of the coming year, will doubtlessly determine to an ever greater extent the overall on march of the political process in the country. Tensions which have already arisen following the adoption of the law on the economic independence of the three Baltic republics and the withdrawal of the Lithuanian Communist Party from CPSU; the repercussions evoked by the position of the Russian-speaking population in a number of Union republics; the emotions stirred up by the streams of refugees, by the scale on which the troops of the Ministry of the Interior are used in the conflict stricken zones, their moral and physical vulnerability—all this makes the situation explosive. If an explosion comes, it will, owing to the very size of the Russian Federation, further accelerate the process of lifting state control, and detract dramatically from the people's confidence in the government's ability to lead the country out of crisis.

Whereas in other Union republics the national or ethnoterritorial idea can, if only for the time being, play the role of a new consensus base, of a means of state building, on the territory of the Russian Federation all the ideas of this kind can only serve to further destroy the consensus and to disintegrate the republic completely.

The slogan "Russia is withdrawing from the Russian Federation," put forward by a number of deputies, makes as much sense as calling upon Anglo-Saxons to withdraw from the U.S. either ethnic groups is the founder and builder of its respective state. To swing from the idealization of any group's historical behaviour to the other extreme—the administrative abolishing of a historically evolved whole—means to launch a destructive process with all the predictable consequences; a huge loss of human life and the destruction of the national economy. As a result, the Russian Federation's historical and technological progress will be hopelessly retarded.

No ethnic group except the Russians can serve as a cementing interethnic force of this territory. Although often accused of great-power ambitions and chauvinism, the Russians are internationalists in their very spirit and have no fundamental nationalist ideology.

Having gone through as much as others, the Russians do not merely have the right but are obliged, in the name of their children's future, like any other nation, to see to their national and cultural preservation. At the same time they realize that excessive national self-sufficiency is as ruinous to them as it is to other nations making up the Russian state, and that therefore we need a new formula for this state which would help combine the national and the international and to determine these peoples' place in the world community of the 21st century.

To sum up, we can forecast with a high degree of confidence:
- a progressive development of the structural crisis into that of the regime;
- the shifting of the epicentre of this crisis to the territory of the Russian Federation;
- its rapid ideologization in sociopolitical and geopolitical terms;
- a progressive polarization of political forces and political platforms which takes precedence over the polarization of national interests;
- the reverse politization, under the influence of this process now under way in the "centre," of interethnic relations in the periphery;
- the spillover of the politization beyond the confines of the USSR and its turning into a powerful factor in bringing about a new geopolitical situation the world over.

Moscow Gorkom on Voting for Congress Delegates

LD1101171390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] The overwhelming majority of rayon party organizations in Moscow support the proposal on direct secret alternative elections for delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress from party districts. Every communist should take part in the submission of and voting for candidate delegates. This was stressed by participants in an expanded session of the bureau of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, which took place today. The main thing, the speakers noted, is to do everything so that genuine supporters of perestroyka and the renewal of the party on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideas should become delegates to the congress.

Preliminary Results of Russian Election Campaign

LD1201143690 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Here in Moscow the Central Electoral Commission has summed up some preliminary results of the first stage of the election campaign. That is, nominating candidates to run for people's deputies of the Russian Federation. Over 8,000 candidates will be competing for just over 1,000 mandates to the supreme body of legislative power of the biggest Soviet republic. In an acute election campaign they will be seeking their voters' confidence and their support for their election platforms. Among the candidates are representatives of the Soviet Communist Party, the trade unions, and various public organizations.

Committee Secretary on Elections

LD1301121790 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov:

As many as 8,254 candidates have been nominated to run in the March 4th Russian elections for 1,068 seats, an average of eight candidates for each seat, the Central Electoral Committee secretary has revealed.

At a meeting today the Central Electoral Committee for the Russian Federation discussed ways of ensuring citizens fully exercise their constitutional rights. It envisages measures to supply the necessary documents and booklets to polling stations situated tens of thousands of kilometres away from Moscow.

Officials of the Ministry of the Merchant Marine and the Ministry of fisheries briefed members of the Central Election Committee on large-scale preparatory work for the election. Officials of the Ministries of Culture and commerce of the Russian Federation also summed up preparation for the election.

The committee's secretary Anatoliy Petrov told the meeting about the first results of the nomination of candidates that was concluded on January 2. According to the information received as of today, there will be uncontested elections in 26 constituencies. But there is also an election district where 28 candidates for a seat will run. There will be more than 20 contestants for a seat in 18 districts.

Petrov said that most candidates were nominated by work collectives and public organizations. The activity of youth organisations was extremely low. Representatives of the youth account for only three percent of the candidates. Nomination of candidates from constituencies proceeded at a slack pace.

The candidates are now being registered. Then the canvassing will start. Those elected will form the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia. A permanent bicameral parliament, the republic's Supreme Soviet, will be formed of deputies of the congress.

Moscow Society of Ethnic Germans 'Rebirth' Formed

LD1401044790 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Mikhailov:

The chief purpose of the Moscow Society of Ethnic Germans is to promote the restoration of German autonomy in the USSR. The new public organisation that was presented in a ceremony here today is a regional branch of the All-Union Society of Ethnic Germans, "Rebirth".

Hugo Wormsbecher, head of the council of the Moscow society, said at the presentation ceremony that the study of the German language and German culture will be important elements in the society's activities. It will be promoting the development of ties with German-speaking European countries—West Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Austria and Switzerland.

Film-maker Vladimir Martens, chairman of the society's board, said that there is a project for the restoration of the German village, the historic district in Moscow where immigrants from Germany and other European countries began to settle several centuries ago.

There are plans to form in the German village a business and cultural centre including a German gymnasium, kindergarten, and a hotel for 1,500-2,000 places, as well as a theatre, a video club, a cinema house, and a library.

The idea was supported by the authorities of Moscow's Bauman District, the territory comprising the German village.

The district council invites foreign firms to form a joint venture to implement the project.

More than 3,000 ethnic Germans now reside in Moscow. Their society has become the 15th national culture society in Moscow. The Ukrainian, Armenian, Tatar, Polish and other societies uniting Muscovites on the basis of their nationalities function successfully.

Conference Opens 16 Jan

LD1601145990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] An All-Union conference of the Soviet Germans' Rebirth Society opened in Moscow today. The 182 delegates, representing 6 of the country's union republics, are to discuss the problems of the national development of the Soviet Germans. The focus of the conference participants' attention are the issues of restoring an autonomous German unit on the Volga and problems of preserving and developing national culture, language, and traditions.

Situation in Leningrad Party Organization Viewed

PM1201162790 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 1, 1990 pp 34-35

[Article by Poel Karp in "What Will the New Year Bring?" feature: "I Expect the Situation To Get Right"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Here in Leningrad we are told every now and then by the first secretary of the city party committee that life has gotten harder in the last five years. But we are no strangers to this country and not emigrants not to know that in fact life started getting worse soon after the Soviet Union sent troops to Czechoslovakia. It was then that the motto of struggle for socialism was used to stifle the reforms advanced by Alexey Kosygin back in 1965. Today admitting that the decision to send troops was wrong we nevertheless refuse to acknowledge the fact that tanks trudging along Wenceslas Square were indeed moving along Red Square in Moscow, smashing everything that had sprung to life after 1953. Following the curtailing of reforms the variety of foodstuffs and consumer goods was narrowed and prices put up. It was not so evident then and was called a change in the articles of clothing and other goods. Now we are told that all this is due to the last five years, though the situation is getting worse not because there are too many reforms but because there are too few.

The defeat in the March general elections of all the Leningrad party leaders was officially interpreted as a defeat for the party, though in fact the party has won a victory with those elected being Communists. As it is there appear to be two communist organizations in the city—one involving the rank-and-file Leningraders, and the other incorporating those at Smolnyy, the leadership whose mandate never depended on the wish of the rank-and-file. It was no coincidence that in answer to the rally of Communists from Smolnyy another meeting was called—the one which involved Leningrad's Communists. And so in the framework of one single party totally different social forces operate, which interpret the concpets of "party" and "socialism" in entirely different ways. this difference, however, has not yet become evident to all, which explains some of the most disappointing blunders in the actions of experienced politicians, as well as a vital need for compromises. [passage omitted]

The system of feudal socialism with strict limits to one's pay at any level and no correlation between a person's performance and their wages and salaries has brought up a new type of man with an original view of freedom. In the Soviet Union, devoid of many other freedoms and rights the man has preserved the freedom to work badly, or not to work at all, making idleness look like work. No progress of science and technology, not even GULAGs could school people away from it. This freedom remains dear to the hearts of many who don't even mind the slipping standards of living, who are prepared to sacrifice for the sake of it, any other freedom which can today be easily taken away from them. Yes, it is a hindrance on the way to a healthier society, but we should realize what are the guiding forces of the people. We should understand that Nina Andreyeva does not just voice her own mistaken understanding of the principles of socialism, but who speaks for millions in their fear of losing the precious freedom of working badly and not being paid for it.

Not an ordinary college teacher but quite respectable people are showing in Leningrad just how strong conservative resistance is inside the party which five years ago proclaimed a new policy of perestroyka—it makes the situation clear as day.

...I am expecting from the new year the situation of social relations to get right not only within our own city but in the whole country. This will be instrumental in advancing perestroyka in practical terms.

Former Uzbek Party Secretary Cleared of Bribe-Taking

LD1501230190 Moscow TASS in English 1808 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Soltys:

The trial of Rano Abdullayeva, former secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee, has concluded. The USSR Supreme court handed out the verdict of "not guilty" today. Abdullayeva was released from custody in the court room and the previous attachment of her property was lifted.

Abdullayeva has been charged with receiving a bribe of 5,000 roubles from Madyar Khudaybergenov, former first secretary of Khorezm regional party committee. During the preliminary investigation she admitted taking the bribe, but at the trial she categorically rejected all charges aganst herself. Khudaibergenov also changed his statement. Both said they had resorted to slander because they feared for their relatives, who were constantly under the threat of detention, and under pressure from the investigators, including Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov.

Having thoroughly studied investigation materials and testimonies by some witnesses, senior assistant to the USSR procurator-general Sergey Golev revoked his charges. His opinion was unequivocal—"Not guilty".

The charge against Abdullayeva found no confirmation in the course of the trial. The USSR Supreme Court acquitted her because of the absence of a criminal act. The ruling is final and not subject to appeal.

"I am not satisfied with the ruling," Abdullayeva told reporters after her release from custory. "My conscience is pure before the people and the party. I never bribed anyone and never took bribes. But the names of those who framed the case were not announced by the court, At least in the sentence. the court has issued no intermediate order concerning them".

Tajik Journal To Publish Koran

LD1401192190 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] In Tajikistan the literary and artistic journal (PAMIR) starts to put out the Koran this year. So far the Muslim holy book has virtually been unavailable for the Russian-speaking population. In Soviet times there's been only one translation of the Koran into Russian. The book has come out in a very small edition, primarily for specialists. The Koran's new edition shows that the changes taking place in Soviet society have affected official attitude towards religion.

Kirgiz Communist Party Holds Plenum

LD1301104690 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Frunze, Soviet Kirgizia, January 13 TASS—The Kirgiz Communist Party Central Committee held a plenum here today to discuss tasks of republican party organisations for the implementation of decisions of the September 1989 plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee concerning the party's nationalities policy.

Kirgiz Communist leader Absamat Masaliyev and other speakers said that the solution of acute problems of ethnic relations was inseparable from economic and social tasks facing the republic.

These tasks require changes in society's spiritual life and new approaches to ideological work.

Speakers said disproportions in the distribution of productive forces, excessive centralisation and the sectoral principle of management that ignored local economic conditions had brought about disproportions in the ethnic structure of the working class.

Issues of employment, particularly the employment of young people at collective and state farms, and internationalisation of work collectives were being resolved too slow.

The plenum passed a resolution outlining measures to remove mistakes in the social and economic development and in the spiritual and ideological spheres.

It mapped out a programme of action for the fulfilment of the decisions of the September plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum decided to convene the 19th congress of the republican Communist Party in September 1990.

Kazakhstan Oblasts Elect Officials

LD1401150490 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0005 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The first sessions of newly elected oblast soviets of people's deputies were held in Guryev, Kustanov, and Petropavlovsk to examine organizational matters. Kulibayev was elected chairman of the Guryev Oblast Soviet. Novikov was elected chairman of the oblast executive committee. (Tangdzharikov) and Taubayev) were elected first deputy chairmen of the executive committee. (Bekeshova), (Imangaliyeva), and (Mirnov) were approved as deputy chairmen.

The session of Kustanay elected Knyazev chairman of the oblast soviet, and Tolengeneva deputy chairman. Ukin was elected chairman of the oblast executive committee, (Boyet) and (Ichinka) first deputy chairmen. (Asatov), (Mikayelev), (Rimezhev) were approved as deputy chairmen.

The session of North Kazakhstan elected Medvedev chairman of the North Kazakhstan Oblast Soviet, (Prasenka) deputy chairman. Kulmakanov was elected chairman of the oblast executive committee; (Kadiyev) and (Drimatov) were elected first deputy chairmen. (Agiyev), (Kanatina), (Siviyov) were approved as deputy chairmen.

More on Election Results

LD1401153490 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The first sessions of the newly elected people's deputies of Dzhambul, Semipalatinsk Oblast, and Alma-Ata City soviets were held to examine organizational matters. Baydzhanov was elected chairman of the Dzhambul Oblast Soviet and Sharafetdinov deputy chairman.

Klochkov was elected chairman of the oblast executive committee. Gusarov and Abubekirov were elected first deputy chairmen. (Shaminov), (Mirzagaliyev), (Rakitova) were approved as deputy chairmen.

The Semipalatinsk session elected Bostayev chairman of the oblast soviet and (Igdakov) deputy chairman. Yeremenko was elected chairman of the oblast executive committee, (Lontev) and Salimbayev were elected first deputy chairmen. (Biryozin), (Dzhumagul-ogly), (Kuzektayev), and (Kengbayev) were approved as deputy chairmen.

Baykenov was elected chairman of the Alma-Ata City Soviet, with Rashkov as deputy chairman. Nurkadilov was elected chairman of the city executive committee; Abdukadirov and Khalyakkin were elected first deputy chairmen. Abdurahmanov, Dzhasimbayev, Dzhindibayev, Ishkov were approved as deputy chairmen.

Shevardnadze Receives Orthodox Church Leaders

LD1701202290 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had today a conversation with members of the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Members of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church—the patriarchal exarch to the Ukraine, Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich, Metropolitan Juvenaliy of Krutitsy and Kolomna, Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, as well as Archbishop Irinei of Lvov and Drogobych participated in the conversation.

Shevardnadze said that meetings at the Soviet Foreign Ministry with leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church have become a good and useful tradition. He said this should be viewed as a specific manifestation of a constructive dialogue between the state and the church.

During the conversation the Soviet foreign minister summed up Soviet foreign policy efforts, the activity of Soviet diplomats towards resolving global problems of the present, advance to a nuclear weapons-free and non-violent world and restructuring of the life of humanity on humanitarian basis.

The minister gave the due to the clergymen's dedication and activity to bring up people in the spirit of respect towards each other, support for perestroyka and establishment of kindly relations among people.

The members of the Holy Synod spoke about the increase of the contribution of the Russian Orthodox Church to peace-making activity, to the solution of topical problems common to entire humanity, to the consolidation of efforts of all Soviet people, both believers and non-believers, aimed at the assertion of perestroyka processes in the Soviet Union and consolidation of moral principles in the life of society.

The minister told representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church about steps towards the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the Holy See in the light of Mikhail Gorbachev's arrangement with the head of the Roman Catholic Church John Paul the Second about official interstate relations between the USSR and the Vatican.

The question of eastern Catholics croppped up during the conversation. This question should be resolved through a dialogue between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church in the framework of the USSR Constitution.

Radio, Television Programming Changes Reviewed

LD1701045890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1836 GMT on 16 January broadcasts the 65-minute "Ostankino Conducts a Dialogue" program, consisting of a report from a 12 January press conference for Soviet journalists by the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting—Gostelradio.

The press conference is opened by Gostelradio Chairman M.F. Nenashev, who speaks in general terms about the tasks facing television in 1990. He notes that there is still much room for improvement in news programs. "Our Channel Two is still in a passive state. We will be moving toward making our news uninterrupted with regard to time; it should be broadcast around the clock. We are working on that," he says. Nenashev continues noting that one of the roles of television is to comfort people. That is why such attention is given to programs on such things as extrasensory perception and the like. In addition, Nenashev points out that Sunday sermons are now broadcast.

E.M. Sagalayev, chief editor of Central Television's chief news editorial office, notes: "Beginning this year, we have taken a step toward maintaining the stream of news, as it is know. We brought the 'Vremya' program from the Far Eastern 'Orbita' onto Channel One at 1230, and from the Urals/Central Asian 'Orbita' onto Channel One at 1830. We call this the Television News Service, although we recognize that the Television News Service is still in the future. Today, however, we are trying to implement the idea of being up-to-the-minute and of maintaining continuity in the news. Now, with the appearance of these 'Vremya' programs at 1230 and 1830, we can report an event virtually in the 1st or 2d hour after it occurs, and in the next program we can give information on the details of that event, while providing commentary and developing that throughout the broadcast day, in general. This idea of a stream of news and the presence of five newscast per day has not yet been put into practice. The news repeats at 1230 and 2100 old news that manifestly does not merit repetition, but we have no other material and consequently this also urges us toward the need for a more up-to-minute and geographically wider search."

B.V. Nepomnyashchiy, chief editor of the All-Union Radio's chief news editorial office, tells of new programs that have been introduced for older people. He notes: "This year, we will continue developing a sort of competitiveness. There is Channel One, which has its own image, and Channel Two, which we can say has acquired its own image and has become important and original. Channel Two features 'Mayak.' The editorial office, which has 31.5 hours of broadcast time per day, is completely responsible for 'Mayak' and for the 'Latest News' program, as well as all the news for practically all other programs."

A.S. Ponomarev, chief editor of Central Television's chief editorial office for youth programs, tells how programs for young people will develop. Among other things, he is hoping to include more news items of interest to young people.

M.A. Ogorodnikov, general director of the Sodruzhestvo creative production association, which has been in existence for just a month, says that its purpose is to make television and radio programs for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. Its aim is to have a round-the-clock channel that will specialize in "television-bridges" to various towns. It aims to broadcast a channel in three 8-hour blocks, without using "orbitas," broadcasting first to the Far East, second to Siberia, and then to the European section of the USSR, with constantly

changing news, "A sort of television 'Mayak.'" "We want to really create all-union and all-Russian television, that is, to assemble everything there is in the local studios and the republics and put it onto the all-union screen."

Going on to answer questions, Nenashev agrees with a question that Gosteleradio is, in a way, a state within a state: Once a program has been commissioned, it is very difficult to call a halt to it. Another questioner suggests that the sheer size of Gosteleradio hinders the democratization of broadcasting. Nenashev says that from his point of view, various public bodies should have their own broadcasts. "But here I would like to dwell on one issue: I do not believe in the existence—and I cannot accept the existence—of private radio stations and private television studios. I cannot understand this, and I cannot imagine it. I proceed from the premise that radio and television are too powerful. It is not just an information weapon, but in many cases, in the present situation and not only in the present situation, also a strategic weapon. It would be a very serious mistake not to take this into account."

Nenashev points out that cable television is developing in the country without any participation by Gosteleradio. He considers that a major association should be set up with Gosteleradio's participation to run cable television.

A KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA journalist asks why television has so few reports from mass political demonstrations. Nenashev replies: "I would like to tell you, frankly, that in many cases we are obliged—and I repeat that we are obliged—to adhere to the principle of not causing any harm." Therefore, it is often better to keep away. Appeals often are made for television and radio to cover various demonstrations, but there are few calls to show creative useful labor, he says.

Nenashev reports that in the next 5-year plan Gosteleradio intends to go over to financing television from subscriptions instead of from the state budget.

A MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS journalist asks about the cancelling of the 29 December "View" program, and wonders who among the leadership called for this. Nenashev says that the program was taken off because it had not been completed on time. "As concerns the question about to whom and what we are subordinated here, I would like to say that you overestimate these instructions and telephone calls. Today these telephone calls no longer exist and today there is no more of this: Let this through, but do not let that through. So, today one must take a lot upon oneself. So, if one is to speak about what my position is, to whom I am subordinate, I subordinate myself primarily to my conscience."

Asked about foreign links, Nenashev refers to the example of the agreement with the U.S. Cable News Network service. He notes unspecified plans for more direct broadcasting to and from abroad.

In conclusion, Nenashev says that more attention is to be paid to studying public opinion.

Communism 'Cast Back 150 Years' by Perestroyka

PM1701155790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 90 p 2

[Article by S. Stolbun, scientific associate in Moscow, under the rubric "How Can We Help the Vanguard?": "Ideas Must Conquer; Continuing the Discussion on the Party's Role in Society"]

[Text] I am a person with profound beliefs. I believe in communism. I realize that my views are not in the spirit of the time and that, reading these lines, you will probably think I am crazy. But I do not change my beliefs as I do a pair of gloves.

Just a few years ago we lived in the great country of Lenin and Gagarin, the first socialist country in the world, and one of the two most powerful states in the world. In the initial stages restructuring gave people hope that the deformations of the Stalin-Brezhnev period would be eliminated and that the country would return to the path of building socialism and communism in the Leninist way. But events starting somewhere in the second half of 1988 began to take a different turn: Restructuring became openly anticommunist.

The year 1989 will go down in history as the year that the world socialist system collapsed, because the process of transformations in East European countries has gone beyond (or will soon go beyond) the bounds of socialism in its Marxist-Leninist interpretation. Just a year ago this could not have happened even in one's nightmares. But the process will not stop here: Movement further "to the right" (not "to the left" but "to the right"!), toward capitalism, will continue. Judging from his article in PRAVDA and his speech at the students' forum, Gorbachev has become aware of this danger, but I fear that this awareness has come too late. It is very likely that the very concept of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" will disappear from the political map of the world in 1990.

I agree with most of the appeals made at the Leningrad "Gidaspov" rally (with the exception of the anticooperative appeals, of course). But with just one reservation: It is too late! We should have thought of all this 72 years ago! We should have—and could have—realized then that every drop of innocent blood spilled for which we were to blame would be an extremely heavy burden on our entire movement. We should have realized that sooner or later we would have to pay for this. That time has now come, and oh, how difficult it is for us to "wash away our sins"!

There is despair in our hearts, of course: Our faith has been taken away and we do not have the will to live or work. But it is, after all, obvious that there would be a recoil away from the October Revolution's achievements after what Stalin did with the country and with the world

communist movement, after the way he discredited the socialist and communist idea. This kind of thing does happen. And not only in history: The idea has been discredited in the people's eyes and it is impossible to convince them again that this idea is still fundamentally right. We have to wait: It sometimes takes several generations before hurt and disillusionment are forgotten and historical need again forces us to return to an idea earlier discredited.

The communist idea, I am convinced, will be rehabilitated. As long as social and political inequality exist and as long as people can dream of a better future, this idea will be revived again and again and again. It will be revived, no matter how badly slandered by its enemies or discredited by its excessively zealous advocates. Possibly with different terminology, but in 20 or 30 or 50 years mankind will come back to it again. The past mistakes will be taken into account: There will be no repetition of the dispossession of the kulaks, the GULAG, forced collectivization, or unanimous approval. I do believe that all mankind will enter the 22d Century under communism.

But, for the present, we have once again been cast back 150 years to the *"Manifesto."* The question of turning communism from a utopia into a science, and from a science into reality is once again left open. Again we hear the words: "The specter...."

So now, those people committed to the communist idea (they are not necessarily always party members) stand at the pillory of history. Most of them, unfortunately, are totally incapable of comprehending that it is impossible to restore historical justice by going to extremes in the opposite direction....

Yes, we are the losers of the 20th Century.

But history, we hope, will not end in the 20th Century. So a new salvo fired from the *Aurora*, a new storming of the Winter Palace, and a new storming of outer space lie ahead of us.

But how am I to live now? And what is the point of my living if, in the world now taking shape, in which profit and gain are becoming the official state ideology, I and my ideals are going to look anachronistic at the very least? If my work, to which I have devoted heart and soul (you are familiar with the episode with the protein and vitamin concentrate plants), appears to have brought nothing but harm (true, I personally do not agree with this assessment but the decision has already been adopted by the session and it is useless to argue: public opinion cannot be swayed)?

And I am only 34 years old....

Tbilisi Nightly Rallies for Georgian Independence

PM1401152590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[Captain P. Denisov report: "What Is Happening in Tbilisi?"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 12 Jan—The republic newspapers reported 4 January on an action carried out in Tbilisi on the initiative of Georgian sociopolitical associations. The hunger strike by certain leaders and members of these organizations continues outside Government House. Large rallies assemble each evening.

In conversation with a GRUZINFORM correspondent M. Mamuchishvili (Georgian National Independence Party), one of the participants in the action, said that the hunger-strikers' main demand is the restoration of Georgian independence. In this connection they are trying to get CPSU Central Committee Politburo members to visit the republic to conduct a dialogue with them. Mamuchishvili immediately added that the demand for the granting of independence to Georgia is not aimed against any nation or ethnic group. "On the contrary," he stressed, "it is as an independent state that Georgia will be able to defend the dignity and interests of all the peoples who live here."

Yesterday the Committee for Georgian National Salvation, which unites nine parties and unions, held a rally in front of Government House. Up to 6,000 people assembled in the square. The creation of a so-called national defense committee was announced and volunteers were signed up for national formations.

A number of enterprises in Tbilisi are not working and school corridors are empty. The school vacation has been extended. This is partly connected with the constraints on the use of power in the republic, whereby there are quotas and restrictions on the use of gas and electricity. But there are other reasons too.

There is virtually no public transport on the city streets. The subway remains the sole means of transport. Here are just a few figures which have been published in the republic press: Out of a total of 597 buses only 194—serving areas far from the city center—were working as of 0900 yesterday. Pickets are barring the way out of bus, trolleybus, and streetcar depots. Out of the 215 minibuses [marshrutnyy taksi] operating in the city, 118 were turned back. On being threatened by the pickets, the drivers were scared to follow their routes, and some of them left their vehicles in the street. The leadership of the Tbilisi Transport Association is doing everything possible to provide the necessary transportation.

But there are more alarming facts. Representatives of various sociopolitical associations, carrying out an action, occupied 47 offices at the republic's Council of Ministers building (Government House). A number of buildings belonging to the Tbilisi city party committee and the Kalininskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee were seized. People have also been gathering outside the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. In a window on the first floor is a cherry-colored flag with a black and white band in the upper corner near the staff. There is an increased militia detachment by the entrance. It was explained to me that a group of people staging a hunger strike had infiltrated the building.

Appearing on republic television 11 January, G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, made an assessment of the processes taking place in Georgia's political and social life. He described the current situation as extremely complex and fraught with unpredictable consequences which leave every citizen of the republic who is sincerely interested in a better future for it with a choice: What path should be followed in order to achieve this aim? The path of mutual distrust and dangerous confrontation or the path of mutually acceptable dialogue? The speaker also said that the republic's leadership fully recognizes the great responsibility which it bears at such a difficult time.

Democratic Union Link to Stolen Explosives Sought

PM1101170590 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Jan 90 p 4

[Own correspondent R. Tell report under the rubric "Situation": "Turquoise and Explosives"]

[Text] Tashkent—A certain drill operator in the "Sredazkvartssamotsvety" Association's Kyzyltepinskiy Geological Exploration Party proved to be an unusually thrifty person. When his apartment in Almalyk City was searched, several handsful of jewelry made from processed turquoise stones and more than 2 kg of silver were discovered. It is clear that the man was storing up for a "rainy day," so he was hiding what he had extracted from the depths of the earth and was turning it into precious stones for his own personal use, so to speak. But worldly wise criminal investigation officials were struck dumb when they saw the other half of the domestic store. Why keep in a city apartment dozens of meters of Bickford fuse and several packages of explosives?

"The investigation under way will provide the answer to this question," V. Kamalov, the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic minister of internal affairs, commented on the situation. "In his testimonies the arrested man stated that he represents a small branch of the so-called 'Democratic Union.' On the instructions of the 'Democratic Union' he had to try to buy duplicating equipment. He got the explosives by saving them at his workplace. But the court will establish once and for all if there is a correlation between the 'Democratic Union,' the explosive substances, and the gems."

The minister promised to inform our readers of the results of the criminal case.

Pugo Hears Arkhangelsk Residents' Complaints

PM1101131990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meeting in Arkhangelsk North"]

[Text] Arkhangelsk, 10 Jan—Meeting ordinary people, the party aktiv, and labor collectives was the main aim of the 8-10 January visit to Arkhangelsk Oblast by B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. Proposals and opinions expressed by working people during the numerous meetings and talks in Russia's Pomorye help to provide a deeper understanding of people's moods in the complex phase of perestroyka, and to adjust reference points in the preparation for the 28th congress of the country's communists.

B.K. Pugo acquainted himself with the "Northern Machine-Building Enterprise" Production Association in Severodvinsk. There was a detailed discussion here about the development of the social sphere, the manufacture of consumer goods, and an increase in conversion. Today Severodvinsk's inhabitants are producing furniture, summer houses, vacuum boilers for processing enterprises of the agroindustrial complex, and various household utensils. However, given the acute shortage of goods and services, the proportion of civilian production in the association clearly is small, although it has increased five-fold in the last few years.

The development of intraparty democracy and the Communist-leader's responsibility for the task he is entrusted with were the basic subjects of the discussion between the chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and the Severodvinsk party aktiv. It was noted that party unity and the cohesion and purity of party ranks are particularly necessary at the current phase in the development of Soviet society. The command and edict methods of solving diverse problems are already part of the rejected arsenal of the past. A multiplicity of viewpoints is the reality of our time, but it is no good turning the party into a debating society. Where is the golden mean? The party must be the genuine vanguard of the people and ensure the unity of aims and resources in the large-scale and difficult work of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost. Pugo supported the idea that the renewal of the party consists in devising a mechanism that would enable every communist to feel that he is participating in the decisions of party organizations and committees at all levels—from primary party organization to Central Committee. A party member must be sure that his opinion counts and will be taken into consideration.

In one of the production shops of the V.I. Lenin Sawmill and Wood-Processing Combine in Arkhangelsk there was a frank, sharp discussion about problem areas. The workers expressed their concern about problems connected with foodstuffs, housing, and the environment, and brought the chronic shortage of raw materials to Pugo's attention. The large sawmills in Arkhangelsk Oblast are not working at full capacity, while hundreds of thousands of cubic meters of timber are dispatched for processing to other regions and abroad. Is this economical? The working people are supporting the party line on strengthening the soviets, particularly in the localities. The soviets must be the masters, not the suppliants. A great deal has already been done, but time is needed for the soviets to start working at full strength.

Pugo familiarized himself with the work of the collectives of the Northern Steamship Company, the "Arkhangelskgeologiya" Association, and the "White Sea Designs" folk handicraft enterprise. He visited the stock-raising complex at the "Organizator" Collective Farm, the Arkhangelsk paper and pulp combine in Novodvinsk, and a number of sociocultural facilities.

The results of the trip were summed up at a meeting at the oblast party committee with the Arkhangelsk Oblast party, soviet, and economic aktiv. Pugo spoke about the work of the Party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, and answered questions. The meeting participants exchanged ideas on ways of restructuring the work of and democratizing the party organization, strengthening responsibility and discipline, and eliminating the scarcities.

Vorotnikov Visits Tambov Oblast 11-13 Jan

LD1401031490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Comrade Vorotnikov's meetings with the Tambov Oblast electorate passed off in a businesslike, keen discussion of the vital problems of perestroyka.

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday he visited industrial enterprises of the oblast center, and visited the rural heart of the Russian Non-Chernozem Zone. The USSR people's deputy inquired about the level of cultural, consumer, and medical services, and the residents' working and leisure conditions. Comrade Vorotnikov acquainted himself with the work experience of the Kirsanovskiy agro-industrial combine—the oblast's first—and attended a meeting of the Tambov oblast party-economic aktiv.

Chernigov Obkom 1st Secretary Relieved of Duties

LD1401031190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A plenum of the Chernigov oblast party committee [obkom] has been held, at which an organizational matter was examined. Following the receipt of an application, the plenum relieved Palazhchenko of his duties as obkom first secretary.

Voronin Heads Commission on Railways

LD1301212590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] An intercom conference was held today in the Ministry of Railways. Everyday there are 1,400 tank-trucks and 31,000 goods wagons that remain to be unloaded. It has now been decided to make those who are to blame for goods wagons standing idle on the railway pay five times more in fines.

"A government commission headed by Comrade Voronin has been set up within the country's Council of Ministers in connection with the emergency state of affairs on rail transport."

Komsomol Discusses Safety at Borders

LD1201160290 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1745 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] How to ensure the safe guarding of the state border? This and other questions were in the focus of proceedings at the Komsomol conference of the Red Banner Western border area of the USSR KGB. It was held in Kiev.

It was convened out of consideration for the changes taking place in the social-political life in neighboring countries, more frequent cases of border violations and smugglers' activities and escalating extremist tendencies of informal organizations in a number of oblasts of our republic and in Moldavia. [words indistinct]

Ternopol Oblast Executive Committee Elects Chairman

LD1501134990 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1615 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Summary] A Ternopol Oblast Soviet session was held today, during which an organizational question was discussed. The session released Comrade Tovstanovskiy from the post of chairman of the Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, and elected Comrade Oleynik to this post. He was formerly deputy chairman of the Ternopol Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

Military Returns Arable Land to Collective

LD1201144890 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpt] For nearly 30 years the Dovbush collective farm in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast could not use part of its arable land for growing crops. It was occupied by a military directorate and was turned into a missile base.

Now, following the reduction of medium-range missiles, the collective farm has repossessed the land. [passage omitted]

Chernovitskaya Oblast Party Chief Elected

LD1301002290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[text] A plenum of the Chernovitskaya Oblast Committee [obkom] of the Ukrainian Communist Party, which examined an organizational matter, has completed its work. Following a secret ballot, out of three candidates the plenum elected Comrade Dmitriyev, who previously worked as secretary of the party obkom, to become first secretary of the Chernovitskaya Oblast Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

Tyumen Obkom First Secretary Resigns

PM1201160190 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 12 Jan 90 p 2

["Own Information" report under the "Follow-Up" rubric: "Resignation Accepted, But..."]

[Text] Our newspaper described the complex situation prevailing in the Tyumen Oblast party organization in the article "Proposed Resignation" on 10 January. M. Metakov, member of the party oblast committee [obkom] and chief of the Ideological Department, published in the local press a letter to all members of the CPSU Obkom proposing for discussion the question of Obkom First Secretary G. Bogomyakov remaining in office.

Today we are in a position to inform our readers that a sitting of the Tyumen party obkom bureau granted G. Bogomyakov's request to be relieved of his duties as CPSU Obkom first secretary in connection with his retirement on pension. The question is scheduled for discussion by the next plenum, due to be held 18 January. Party committee first secretaries and party activists who are not members of the oblast party organization's elected organs have been invited to take part in its work.

The obkom and the party city and rayon committees have been instructed to study the opinion of party organizations and Communists regarding possible candidates for the office of CPSU obkom first secretary and to submit proposals to the party obkom commission for questions of organizational-party and cadre work.

Chernigov Residents Demand Leaders' Resignations

LD1201125490 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] For several days a tense situation has prevailed in Chernigov. Several spontaneous meetings have been held there since 6 January.

The participants demanded the resignation of the local party leadership.

At yesterday's [10 January] meeting, which was sanctioned by local authorities, the same demand was voiced once again. Nearly 20,000 people attended the meeting.

We contacted Dr Kotenko by phone. He took part in yesterday's meeting. Here he is.

[Begin Kotenko recording] The main reason for this upheaval is that people are dissatisfied with their social and material condition.

It has become impossible to get foodstuffs and industrial goods such as socks, underwear, and other items. At the meeting the main demand was that the oblast party leadership should be replaced: First Secretary Palazhchenko and the entire buro must go.

Further, the meeting demanded facilities for informal organizations and simpler methods of their registration. The meeting demanded that all privileges be removed. It was said at the meeting that in the party obkom's garage a foodstuffs store is situated and personal chauffers deliver these edibles to bosses' addresses. [end recording]

What does Leonid Palazhchenko, party obkom first secretary, think about this crisis? We phoned the Chernigov Obkom to ask him this question but an interview did not materialize. Leonid Ivanovich said he has no time.

Well, maybe people are right; they have had enough words. Time is such that deeds are needed.

First Secretary Fired

LD1701143590 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] A full-scale meeting of the Chernigov Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, upon the insistent demands of the public, released the first secretary of the regional party committee Leonid Palazhchenko from his duties.

The requests by three other secretaries of the regional party committee to release them from their duties were declined by the plenum.

Besides that, the participants of a multi-thousand meeting held in the city again came out with the demand that the entire Bureau of the Chernigov Regional Party Committee should resign.

Karakalpak Oblast Komsomol Holds Conference

LD1401193590 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0600 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] On 12 January the 33d Conference of the Karakalpak Oblast Komsomol organization was held in Nukus. Participants in the conference discussed the accountability report of the oblast Komsomol committee and the report of the Auditing Commission. The new composition of the oblast Komsomol Committee and the auditing commission and delegates to the 21st All-Union Komsomol Congress were elected. The delegates adopted resolutions on the situation which has come about in Aral and the approach to the program, statement and the draft Komsomol charter. Niyetullayev, first secretary of the Karakalpak oblast party committee spoke at the conference. (Kurzanova), secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee participated in the work of the conference.

The organizational plenum for the the new composition of the Karakalpak Oblast Komsomol Committee, Abdumadzhitov was elected first secretary of the oblast Komsomol committee.

Alma-Ata Oblast Elects New Officials

LD1101181790 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The first session of the newly elected oblast soviets of people's deputies were held today in Alma-Ata, Guryev, and Kokchetav, which examined an organizational matter. Tolebekov was elected chairman of the Alma-Ata Oblast Soviet, and Dzhunusbekov as deputy chairman. Romanov was elected chairman of the Oblast Executive committee, and Krivaruchka and Kokseyitov were elcted first deputy chairmen. Kulmanova, Malsof, and Musaybekov were approved as deputy chairmen.

The session of Kokchetav Oblast elected Taukenov chairman of the oblast soviet, and Lazurinka deputy chairman. Kramarev was elected chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee, and Nalayev and Partuvuzkiy first deputy Chairmen. Mikrakov, Shuvatayeva, and Tolebayev were approved as deputy chairman.

[No details included on any changes in Guryev as mentioned in first graf]

Usmanov Visits Tatar ASSR

LD1501230790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Meetings between Usmanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and USSR people's deputy, and electors of the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, [ASSR] the working peopole, and Communists of the republic, proceeded in an atmosphere of openness and frank dialogue about the progress of perestroyka in the country, the results of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the preparation for the 28th party congress. He visited kolkhozes and sovkhozes and enterprises processing agricultural raw materials, and acquainted himself with the work of establishments for culture and health in rural areas.

At the oblast party committee [obkom] the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee met with the members of the obkom bureau and leaders of ministries and departments of the autonomous republic. A broad range of issues of the development of the Tatar ASSR and of the restructuring of the activities of its party organization were discussed.

New Appointments for Ural, Chimkent Oblasts

LD1601221790 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] The first sessions of the newly elected oblast soviets of people's deputies were held in Ural and Chimkent, which examined organizational matters. Iskaliyev was elected chairman of the Ural Oblast Soviet, (Mardatov) deputy chairman. Gartman was elected chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee, (Teleskin), and (Esengaliyev) as first deputy chairmen. (Urdzhunov), Dzhumagaliyev, and Ismagulova were approved as deputy chairmen and chairwoman.

The session at Chimkent elected Temirbayev chairman of the Oblast Soviet, Varankov as deputy chairman. (Kharbayev) was elected chariman of the Oblast Executive Committee, (Vasiliyev) and Tolemetov as first deputy chairman Brakova, Kadirov, (notikov), and Tilegenov were approved as deputy chairmen.

Deputy on Perestroyka's 'Most Dangerous' Period

PM1701160090 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Sergey Stankevich by correspondent David Smith in Moscow from the Channel 4 "News" program—no date given; recorded]

[Text] [Smith] Sergey Stankevich is a radical MP from Moscow and a member of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Law and Order [Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order]. Will politicians like him, who enjoy great popular support, will they now unite behind the president?

[Stankevich] Well, I'm afraid that now we have no other way out but to use the Army in order to stabilize the situation, in order to stop bloody violence—the wave of bloody violence—in our Caucasus. We cannot be... we cannot stand aside from all this: We cannot be only eyewitnesses of what's going on, because the lives of thousands of peoples are on the stake. So we should react, and we should use state force, of course; but we should take into account that it is not a solution for this ethnic conflict: We should find a formula of interethnic reconciliation.

[Smith] But do you believe there can be a political solution?

[Stankevich] Well, now the first thing is to stabilize the situation; then we should bring them to the table of negotiations, and we should be moderators for these negotiations; and we should work out formula of reconciliation. And I think that a new autonomous republic which is inside Azerbaijan but quite autonomous, with its own government, with new opportunities for development of Armenian culture, and so on and so on, inside Karabakh: I think it is a good solution.

[Smith] Do you think that Mr Gorbachev has done enough on this score in terms of looking for a political way out?

[Stankevich] I'm afraid that Mr Gorbachev missed a proper time for such kind of solution. I think that it should be achieved much earlier—at least 2 years ago—and there was such kind of opportunity, but unfortunately, unfortunately the time was missed.

[Smith] How much of a setback is this—sending the Army in—to everything that Mr Gorbachev's trying to achieve?

[Stankevich] I think it is one of the most serious setbacks. If in Lithuania and other Baltic republics, in other places of the country, we can use such a universal political tool as multilateral negotiations, so no negotiations are possible now in Caucasus. So our first task is to stabilize the situation.

[Smith] Are you worried that once you cross this line of using the Army, that you may do it elsewhere?

[Stankevich] I agree absolutely: There is a real danger for us now. And since we have a kind of increasing tension in the many regions of the country, we should avoid the possibility to make the Army as the universal tool of perestroyka.

[Smith] The violence in Azerbaijan; what's happening in the Baltics; the crisis in the economy: Is perestroyka coming off the rails?

[Stankevich] It is a real danger for perestroyka, but I think that as soon as we have a real breakthrough in our economy, as soon as we show that we are very serious in our devotion to radical political reform, it can, it can ease interethnic tension.

[Smith] Finally, what about Mr Gorbachev? Do you sense that he's moving to the Right—to the more conservative wing—when you see him take action like this?

[Stankevich] We hope that Gorbachev will survive in this very intensive conflict, and he will make his choice in favor of further changes, and we shall support him in all his reform efforts, and we shall defend him against any conservative attack. But we shall continue our critic against his inconsistency, against Gorbachev's devotion to half measures. And we think that perestroyka experiences now its most serious and most dangerous period.

Weekly Newspaper Interviews Boris Yeltsin

PM1701164590 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 14 Jan 90 p4,5

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Construction and Architecture, conducted by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Chief editor Yegor Yakovlev: "In Search for Accord"; date, place not given]

[Text] Yegor Yakovlev: What do you consider the most salient changes in our social life over the past year?

Boris Yeltsin: The increasing resistance of the conservative forces. And although it is obvious that we must part with Article 6 of the Constitution, that we must accept the idea of a wide spectrum of public movements having equal rights with the Party and that we must introduce market relations, the conservatives continue to cling to the dogmatic propositions of Marxism-Leninism, pinning their hopes on the discipine brought about with a strong hand. These are not even convictions, but a sort of fanaticism that flies in the face of reality and the people's sentiments.

Yakovlev: The fanaticism of self-preservation?

Yeltsin: No doubt

Yakovlev: During the first stage of perestroyka everyone was united by the thought that we couldn't live this way any longer. But at that time only the outer players of our past were being pealed away. Polarization started when it came down to structures, to the need to decide how we should live.

Yeltsin: I agree. During the first stage (roughly the first two years) even the conservative faction of the Party apparat was not hostile to democratization and glasnost, if not necessarily aware of where this could lead. Reforms were seen as new scenery on the same old stage. Moreover, the people were inspired, and it was becoming easier to work with them. Although the apparat did not accelerate the new processes, it did facilitate their advance. This all changed, however, when questions arose about the need to demonopolize power and the economy when the market and privileges became the topic of the day. The apparat took up blind defences. Having lost its original lead, the Party started lagging behind the masses and dynamic processes. It's a pity that our party has not found the courage to launch radical perestroyka (restructuring) in its own ranks. Faith in the Party, in the leadership and in perestroyka has declined. Unless the party is radically overhauled soon, many members will quit. What has happened in Lithuania may occur elsewhere in the country.

Yakovlev: What are your own concerns? To overhaul the Party or to set up an alternative to it?

Yeltsin: At the last Plenary Meeting, which discussed the separation of some Lithuanian Communists from the CPSU, my position essentially coincided with Gorbachev's. Such questions must be approached with the utmost prudence, instead of applying tough measures as many suggested: "Let's set up a blockade", "Let's use the KGB", "Let's exclude them", "Let's prohibit this". What is the use of this? We'll only push away some while others will leave of their own accord. I favour maximum independence for the republican Communist Parties, but as affiliated members of the CPSU.

The Party's platform for the 28th Congress, which must be on our desks this month, will show much. If it really amounts to a serious overhaul, that's one thing. But if it turns out to be just another case of window dressing—change something here, amend something there, talk about this but keep quiet about that, still clinging to the party's monopoly on power—that's another thing. Then the number of those who think of setting up a different party will increase. We have endured many calamities, but the chief one is the Party's monopoly on power.

We need to change the rigid sysem of democratic centralism. Times have changed. We need totaly different structures in the Party. The most important thing is the primary organizations with all of their democratic principles. Next is the district committee—a council of the secretaries' of the primary organizations with only a typist-secretary and consultants working on a voluntary (unpaid) basis. That is, an apparat-free structure in contrast to the present one which has discredited itself as an instrument of authority. The regional unit would be based on the same principles. And so on up to the Central Committee. It would concentrate the Party's greatest intellects. It is unimportant who these people are—workers, scientists, peasants, journalists, Party committee secretaries—but they must be those most capable of collectively formulating the main principles of policy. It's up to you whether you print this or not, but I don't consider the current politburo to be made up of people of the highest intellect. I know more than two people on it whom the people look at, listen to and then ask: "Can those really be the people who are leading us?"

And then of course there's the issue of privileges. From the very beginning of perestroyka I insisted that they should be given up. I realize that the abolition of privileges won't make others that much better off. But this is a moral step which people will invariably appreciate.

Yakovlev: This would also be useful in that leaders would get an idea firsthand of how most people live. People's deputy Nikolay Travkin recently said some very good things on TV about the talking-to the Prime Minister would get from his wife at night if she had to spend her days foraging for food.

Yeltsin: I never particularly abused my privileges, but I also never understood how Muscovites got along until I gave them up.

Yakovlev: Do you think you did the right thing?

Yeltsin: It's hard when your wife has stood in queues for hours to buy food or when something is not on sale or when drugstores have no medicine and your grandson's temperature is over 40 degrees C. There are cases when my family doesn't agree with me. But these are the principles of morality, ethnical standards, and the top echelon must set an example instead of waiting for expropriation as in other countries. Judging by Yevgeniy Primakov's report, the Commission on Privileges will hardly reach out to everyone, including those in the top echelon. Some deputies are even being persuaded to take advantage of the privileges.

Yakovlev: What do you think about the increased interest in Western social democracy?

Yeltsin: One wise man once told me (and I agree with him) that the point is not "isms": democratic socialism, humane socialism or socialism in general. The point is substance: human rights, freedom of choice. People should live truly freely and calmly, in plenary and in comfort. I, for one, cannot say that the capitalism with which they scared us 70 years ago still exists today. But we are still the same. As soon as we heard about the "market economy", we started crying for help: "Capitalism is on the offensive." Incidentally, Marx observed that the market economy would ruin capitalism. Perhaps it has already done so? And what has arisen is something new, something for which our ideologists have yet to coin a name, just as they have yet to find a name for the state we are in now.

When I said that communism was something foggy to me, that I was not prepared to discuss it, they started criticizing me. But what communism can be in question today? We haven't yet been able to porovide people with elementary conditions. Let's give them the chance to work freely on the land, let's allow them to own shares so that they will know that the factory is partly theirs. It doesn't matter what you call it. Why do I criticize the government's current programme? Because it is based on old schemes and has no mechanism for switching to a market economy; it is not a programme which people will understand. In the economy, as in policy, we have confined ourselves to half-measures, to permanent compromises, but they lead only to an impasse. (The length of this interview made it impossible to include Yeltsin's proposals on this score—Ye. Ya.)

Yakovlev: You usually address your criticisms about half-measures to Gorbachev, reproaching him with shilly-shallying. But to me, it is obvious that the contradictions between the conservatives and the radicals have been aggravated to such an extent that they have taken over the centre of the bridgehead. In such conditions, it is difficult to work ahead of schedule.

Yeltsin: The current Central Committee—formed at the time when the tasks facing us today were hardly discernible on the horizon—is exceptionally conservative. But this makes me even less able to understand Gorbachev. Why did he reject my main idea at the 19th Party Conference and at the Plenary Meetings to convene an extraordinary 28th Congress without delay and discuss the Party's problems? That would be Gorbachev's congress, a congress of perestroyka, at which it would be possible to implement the most progressive ideas and push back the conservative wing. Now everything has become complicated. Having been defeated in the elections, the conservatives have consolidated.

And still I can't subscribe to the notion being bandied about in the press, including MOSCOW NEWS, that the conservatives present a serious threat to Gorbachev. Sometimes all this seems like very subtle diplomacy to me: using the threat of a conservative rollback to secure mass support for Gorbachev. That's the point. And not that right-wingers have virtually cornered him.

Yakovlev: I can't judge the situation in the Politburo or the Central Committee. But we have all read the transcript of one Plenary Meeting in the press as well as of the conference of the first secretaries of regional and

republican Party committees; and we have heard much of what took place at the two latest Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee. Perestoika is up against ever stiffer resistance. And it is no accident that at the 2nd Congress of USSR People's Deputies one of the speakers shared his apprehensions: a Plenary meeting could recall people's deputy Gorbachev, whom it elected, and then we would lose our President.

Yeltsin: I repeat, the Central Committee must be reelected. But in my time on the Politburo, I don't recall a case when Gorbachev was not able to pursue his line. Even now I personally do not see any direct threat to Gorbachev from the conservatives. It's a different matter that perestroyka is losing popularity—this is indisputable. And Gorbachev is getting nervous precisely for this reason. At the two latest Plenary Meetings and at the Congress of People's Deputies he declared on three occasions that anybody could take his place. This is bad and, I think, many feel concerned over this.

Yakovlev: Do you see anyone else in the leadership today who could take his place?

Yeltsin: In the present situation, under the existing system, there needs to be a somewhat different Gorbachev. If in choosing between the people and the apparat he decides to go with the people and moves leftward, then I see no one else so far. My positions and Gorbachev's do not vary on many points—witness the latest Plenary Meeting. I believe that we are at one in our desire to reach the ultimate goals of perestroyka.

Yakovlev: A recent contributor to MOSCOW NEWS called presidential rule necessary to effectively implement the politico- economic course which voters chose during the free elections. This contributor was Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Supervision of the USSR, who was just elected to this post at the Congress.

Yeltsin: I agree. If I decide to become a candidate for people's deputy of the Russian Federation, the presidency in Russia will be part of my programme. On the basis of direct elections and limited terms in office: one firm term, and a second depending on the results of the first.

Yakovlev: From what electoral area will you run for the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet?

Yeltsin: I have been nominated in many areas—Moscow, Leningrad, Perm, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Kamchatka... I'll make up my mind at the end of January.

Yakovlev: You inist that the Party must renounce its monopoly on power. hardly any person in his right mind would disagree. But today the Party is the only political force which to some extent brings our rather fragmented society together. Is it possible today to take the step you insist on?

Yeltsin: Both possible and necessary. We will experience great difficulties. But to catch at a straw, to delay whatever has matured means to take a step backwards. A decision will have to be made all the same. The only question is when: now or a bit later? It's impermissible to allow haste which could lead to the total collapse of our economy and finances, and to the disintegration of the Union. But I felt very wary hearing the calls at the latest Plenary Meeting to let the Party bodies again deal with everything: carriages, coal, nails...

Yakovlev: I believe that, most likely, our problems are insolvable without society's decisive consolidation. It is too early to speak about the Soviets (Councils) being vested with full power. Power still belongs to the state. But what we need first is socio- political consolidation. There are many different movements, but occasionally they come into conflict with each other. Isn't it time to think of a movement which, proceeding from the ideals of perestroyka, could become a ready popular movement?

Yeltsin: If it were possible to find whatever unites us all, this would be an interesting way out. But for this, first, there must be a readiness for real change on the part of all groups and currents. And second, the difference in position is too great. Take those of the CPSU, the Democratic Union and the Popular Front...

Yakovlev: Every movement has its own views about perestroyka and its own goals. But they can be realized only in a democratic, law-governed state. Let us look for accord in this. And let us leave whatever divides us outside, at least for today. I mean a movement vindicating the obvious values of our life today and opposed to all those standing in the way of glasnost, pluralism and human rights those who would like to use democracy in the name of violence.

Yeltsin: What part will the CPSU have to play in this movement?

Yakovlev: Many Communists will support it to the extent to which they agree with it, temporarily putting aside all they find objectionable.

Yeltsin: That's an interesting idea. One worth thinking about.

Faulty Cable Causes Ignalina AES Shut Down

LD1601104590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] As a result of an abundance of events, we did not have the opportunity to inform you about yet another incident, at the Ignalina nuclear electric power station.

On Friday at 2230 [2030 GMT] the reactor of the first power unit was shut down automatically. The reason was that a cable in the emergency shut-down system of the reactor was damaged.

What caused the damage has not yet been announced. As of this afternoon, it was also not accounced if the reactor had been put back into operation.

During the incident no damage was done to the equipment of other systems and no change has occured in the radiation level.

Protest Against Karelian Power Plant Construction

LD1601091290 Petrozavodsk Domestic Service in Russian 0340 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Despite the frost, over 1,000 residents of Petrozavodsk gathered on Sunday on Lenin Square to protest against the proposed construction of an atomic electricity station in Karelia. The participants in the march, organized by the Student League of Greens and the Popular Front of Karelia, walked with placards along Karl Marx Prospekt to the Park of Culture and Leisure, where there was a meeting. The outcome of this was about 1,000 signatures affixed to a resolution against the construction of an atomic electricity station in Karelia.

VDNKH To Be Transformed Into Technology Park

LD1701115590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Exhibition of the Achievements of National Economy of USSR [VDNKH] is known to every one. Now it has been proposed to create a Technology Park instead. As in VDNKH before, there will be exhibitions in its pavilions, but these will be not ordinary expositions. Here, specialists will study market trends, demand, make contacts, advertise ideas, products, services. A business center will be opened for business people. Technology Park is a first attempt to create a principally new exhibition complex. The work is being carried out by a joint Soviet-Italian venture.

Donbass Coal Mines Open Bank Accounts

LD1501141390 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2200 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Eight large coal mines of the Donets basin have opened accounts of their own in Soviet banks. Thus, one of the conditions put forward by participants of the July strike in that region, that is, to utilize earned income from coal sales as they like, has been fulfilled.

Manayenkov Visits Bashkiria 11-13 Jan

LD1301230690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2050 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] The life of the working people and their urgent problems, the work of the oblast party organization and the Autonomous Republic's development prospects—these and other issues were of interest to [Yuriy Manayenkov, secretary of the party central committee, who was in Bashkiria from 11 to 13 January. In the oblast party committee he met with members of the bureau of the CPSU oblast committee and with the Autonomous Republic's party and local soviet aktiv. Much attention was devoted to tackling the problems raised by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and to activating the tremendous potential of the local soviets and the rights and powers granted to them.

'Far East' TV Program To Start 22 Jan

LD1601031490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Excerpts] For the first time, and successfully, technical testing has been carried out of the system for the new regional television program "Far East" [Dalniy Vostok].

Inhabitants of the Khabarovsk and Maritime krays of Kamchatka, and of Sakhalin, Amur, and Magadan Oblasts now have their own unified television channel through the satellite communications system. Today, the final working meeting of television journalists and representatives of the radio and television centers in the Far East took place. [passage omitted]

So far, the program will come out once a week. Viewers will see the first broadcast on 22 January.

New Weeklies Published in Ulyanovsk

LD1401184490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Ulyanovsk Oblast CPSU Committee and Oblast Soviet of Peoples' Deputies have started to publish two new weeklies. The "EMET"—"ASPIRATIONS"—newspaper is published in the Tatar language; "KANASH"—"INTERLOCUTOR"—is meant for the oblast inhabitants of Chuvash nationality. In the near future, a publication of a newspaper for the Volga Germans residing in Ulyanovsk is planned.

Soviet TV, Radio Plan 'Considerable Changes'

LD1301003690 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris:

Considerable changes in the operation of Soviet television and radio under glasnost and democracy were described by Gosteleradio Committee Chairman Mikhail Nenashev at a news conference here today.

According to Nenashev, the information service in given high priority. This year central television's channel one will show five major news programmes instead of only one. An agreement with the U.S. Cable News Network (CNN) is being implemented, with virtually every Soviet news programme including CNN reports. Later, when round-the-clock broadcasting is introduced, the number of news shows will increase.

Public opinion polls have shown that programmes dealing with the most pressing social, political and

economic problems have won considerable popularity. In future, Soviet leaders of all ranks including top ones, will be invited to take part in programmes of this kind.

Special attention will be paid to the development of channel two, which has not get gained viewers' recognition on a par with channel one, Nenashev said. New developments here will include fresh subjects, new programmes and new contributors like the recently created Sodruzhestvo (Commonwealth) Association that specialises in programmes devoted to the Russian Federation and aspects of inter-ethnic communication.

The association's plans include a large-scale dialogue between Russian television and other union republic's television centres.

Two New Tatar Newspapers Published

LD1401184290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0030 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Summary] Two new newspapers have been published in the Tatar language in the city of Naberezhnyye Chelny. (NUR)—LIGHT, and (TANG YOLDYZY)—MORNING STAR are the newspapers of the collectives of the Kama vehicle plant and the Kamgesenergostroy association, respectively. Virtually half of this city's population of 500,000 are of Tatar nationality.

Chukotka Receives TV Programs by Satellite

PM1201141990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 First Edition p 8

[V. Timakov report: "Hello, Chukotka!"]

[Text] "Yetti, Chukotka!"—"Hello, Chukotka!" That was the greeting to viewers in the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug used yesterday for the first time by the announcer on Magadan TV. Regular TV broadcasts have begun from Magadan for Chukotka residents via a satellite communications system. People in the autonomous okrug can now watch not only the two all-union channels, but an oblast channel too. The "Yetti, Chukotka" show will be broadcast twice a month.

Thanks to new technology three-fourths of the oblast's population can now watch Magadan TV channels. A zonal Far Eastern channel will also be broadcast using satellite communications.

Social-Democratic Association Founded

LD1301124190 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Tallinn January 13 TASS—Representatives of various organisations, groups and centres from the Baltic republics, Moscow, Leningrad, Ukraine, Siberia and other regions of the country, who espouse social-democratic principles, gathered for a two-day founding congress in the Estonian Academy of Sciences' Cybernetics Institute on Saturday.

The congress is expected to hold political discussion, to endorse SDA's declaration, principles and charter, to elect leadership and to discuss other organisational issues.

Economic

Statistical Committee Report for 1989 Previewed

LD1701225290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Report by Aleksandr Krutov from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] The results of the country's social and economic development have at last been summed up. I have taken a look through the State Statistical Committee's draft report. Well, now, what can I say? I can say that the reports have become both more complete and more honest. To judge from the figures, phenomena of economic crises have not been halted. The year's plan for many highly important indicators has not been fulfilled. To put it more simply, neither industry nor agriculture has managed to put into the shops the minimum quantity of food products and industrial goods necessary to saturate the market.

I shall cite a few examples from the report. The overall birth rate in the country has gone down. That is a very alarming figure. Labor discipline has deteriorated: Losses of working time have increased, and the index of labor turnover has risen. Inflation has intensified: The actual growth in prices of consumer goods and services provided for payment was 2%, but hidden inflation reached 7.5%, compared with 1988. People have had to buy more goods at speculative prices. According to estimates—this is the first time that I have seen such a figure—speculators' income amounted to approximately R1,300 million in 1989.

Well, you will be able to acquaint yourselves in greater detail when the State Statistical Committee's report is published, but I want to note a positive phenomenon as well. As they say, things aren't that bad, all the same. Principally, the budget deficit has been reduced by comparison with what was planned earlier. Production of consumer goods has managed to overtake output of means of production. So you see, comrades, there is some sort of progress, all the same, and that is reassuring.

Commission on Kuzbass Enterprise Independence

LD1701182790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Report by Aleksandr Krutov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The government commission led by Comrade Ryabev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, is continuing its work in Prokopyevsk today. In the evening it completed examination of the oblast protocol

agreed on by the Kuzbass strike committee in July of last year. That document affects many aspects of that industrial region's life. Let me give one figure. At first glance, it does not concern the miners directly: Over 3,000-million rubles are to be invested in the agroindustrial complex in the next 5-Year Plan period. The agricultural sector of the Kuzbass has never before known such an appreciable injection.

Here is something else I would like to note. Although, as far as the council of workers committees and the government commission are concerned, their views have come closer together, the problem of granting Kuzbass enterprises independence and regional financial autonomy in practice remains very difficult. According to the ministry's information, 152 enterprises, including 51 mines and open-cast workings, in Kemerovo Oblast have been transferred to complete independence. However, in the opinion of the council of workers' committees, a mere five enterprises in the Kuzbass coal industry possess real independence so far.

Let us speak frankly. What sort of financial autonomy or independence can there be now if the conditions for them have not been created, if the price of coal still remains lower than the cost of its extraction? In such conditions independence will inevitably turn into commonplace bankruptcy. A working group of academics, specialists, and people's deputies has been formed to accelerate negotiations on this issue.

Agricultural

Stroyev Interviewed on Grain Program

PM0801120190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by A. Platoshkin: "Grain Is the Foundation of Everything"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] As has already been reported in the press, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has adopted a decision to draw up an all-union grain program for 1991-1995. The government, together with party, soviet, and economic organs and scientific institutions, is completing the preparation of this document. PRAVDA is receiving letters and questions from readers. They ask about the content of the program and the ways and means of implementing it. Will it help to take the country's grain farming out of its state of stagnation and improve food supplies?

The PRAVDA editorial office asked Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to answer a number of questions.

[Platoshkin] Yegor Semenovich, what gave rise to the need to draw up this program today?

[Stroyev] The store counters.

At the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) plenum, M.S. Gorbachev noted that the food shortage creates social tension and provokes not merely reproaches, but also dissatisfaction in people.

The food problem—a key component of perestroyka—concerns everyone. Dates have been set many times for resolving it. It has been called a nationwide problem, a priority problem, an urgent problem. But the situation has not changed. In the 9th 5-Year Plan we obtained an annual average of 181.5 million tonnes of grain, in the 10th we obtained 205 million, and in the 11th we were back to 180 million. The yield also "stood still." Is this not stagnation? True, in the present 5-year plan there has been some progress. Grain production has increased by 26 million tonnes. That is not enough. The country is dependent on the foreign market for food. We buy far too much, primarily grain.

[Platoshkin] There are, of course, some gratifying changes too.

[Stroyev] Certainly. For instance, more than 600 collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes] are obtaining 45 to 50 quintals of grain per hectare. More than 4,000 farms are close to that point. Recently a group of secretaries of union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kray committees [kraykoms] and oblast committees [obkoms] responsible for questions of the agro-industrial complex visited Kiev Oblast. There they saw for themselves that our land is capable of producing 70 or more quintals of grain per hectare, and more than 100 quintals of corn.

In many regions, it must be acknowledged, there has been progress. In the Ukraine the average annual grain crop has increased 23% in the current 5-year plan. A similar increase has been achieved by farmers in a number of non-chernozem regions. The increase is even greater on the farms of Belorussia and Altay and Stavropol Krays. A real breakthrough was secured by working people in Voronezh, Lipetsk, Orel, Ryazan, Rostov, and a number of other oblasts, where gross grain harvests have increased by approximately 50% against the 11th 5-Year Plan level.

All the same, there are more cases of a different kind. Sometimes the conditions are identical, yet the yield per hectare is only half as much. This underscores the extremely neglected state of crop farming, its low standard, and other unexploited potentials. So it is necessary to determine how best to bring this into play. That is why a targeted, comprehensive program is being formulated.

[Platoshkin] How does it differ from its predecessors?

[Stroyev] Formerly, as a rule, the technocratic approach prevailed: the material base, chemicals, land reclamation. That is important, of course. But let's be frank. The country has invested and continues to invest considerable resources in the development of agriculture, but the

situation is changing little. Where is the root of the evil? We are looking for it in the organizational forms and changing the labels on the doors of the leaders' offices. Whereas, in my view, the main question is people, their spiritual and social disorganization, and the unacceptability of the ways of life that were formerly imposed. For decades no one asked the peasant what he needs in order to be able to display his capabilities to the full and use his intellect.

That was what led to the destruction of the very tenor of rural life, the peasants' flight from the countryside, and, ultimately, to our present difficulties. After all, the food problem is only the product of the situation that has grown up in the countryside, or, more precisely, of the peasant who has been driven both socially and morally, so to speak, into an impasse. With the help of perestroyka he is just beginning to emerge from it. And the Communists of our generation are called upon to do everything to help the process gather speed.

[Platoshkin] It has become traditional to classify agriculture among the least efficient sectors of the economy.

[Stroyev] That, in fact, is far from the case. Taking into account the turnover tax, nearly one-third of the country's national income is produced here. The sector's share of total state capital investments is 24%. Last year, for every R100 of fixed production capital here, 17% more national income was obtained than in industry. For a long time the countryside was the main donor in the national economy. The excessive transfer of resources undermined the foundations of expanded reproduction and basically created artificially loss-making kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This transfer is to some extent continuing to this day through the non-equivalent exchanges between the cities and the countryside.

The new program is based on socioeconomic and organizational principles. The experience of other countries is also taken into account: both socialist and capitalist, including the EEC. This experience shows that it is only with the help of a flexible pricing policy and all-around support from the producers of goods that there can be a real breakthrough in grain farming.

The following statistics, for instance, are interesting. In 1987 the FRG paid its farmers $316 a tonne, and Belgium $313. At the time, world prices for American wheat were no more than $114. This year the EEC countries guaranteed a 30% supplement to the price of commodity grain, on the basis of budget finance. At the same time a decision was adopted to reduce market prices of mineral fertilizers and energy sources by 15% to 20%.

All we can do, however, is to reproach the agroindustrial complex for receiving supplements and subsidies, which in many cases do not even cover socially necessary production costs. So it turns out that we pay our own peasant considerably less than a foreign farmer for a quintal of the same grain. That is why grain is not the main measure of the economic interest of rural workers.

[Platoshkin] An improvement in prices will probably change many things. Today, however, the state pays more for non-chernozem wheat than for wheat from the Kuban or the Don. But are they not of comparable quality?

[Stroyev] At the moment the pricing policy makes the sale of grain to the state in general relatively disadvantageous. The return on grain is only one-half or one-third of the return on the livestock products obtained with the use of grain. Therefore, people have begun to hold onto the grain locally and have drastically reduced deliveries to centralized stocks.

Yes, the profitability of grain, even at present prices, is fairly high in some places, but it accounts for only some 14% of total profits and an even smaller proportion of revenue. For instance, last year, of the R153.3 billion that the countryside received, grain accounted for only R12.3 billion, or 8%. Furthermore, the prime cost of grain does not take into account the value of the land. That is why it continues to be regarded as negligible.

A range of economic, technological, and organizational measures will ensure the necessary grain harvest and spare us from having to import it. However difficult it may be, it will be necessary to revise the established pricing mechanism. It probably will be more expedient to have uniform basic prices for grain, or prices with minimal zonal differentiation. At the same time, the prices should stimulate quality. It doubtless will be necessary in the future to review wholesale and retail prices both for grain and for the products from processing it. So as to exclude the use of food grain, groats, and pasta products for feeding livestock.

So interconnected tasks have to be tackled. It is necessary to increase the output of products and impose order in finances and prices, and to regulate supply and demand, thereby keeping the food market optimally balanced.

A sharp increase in grain prices would help to "explode" the existing lack of respect for its cultivation and to give the peasant an incentive. That would release currency for the purchase of consumer goods on the foreign market, and that offers a reserve for improving payments for grain.

[Platoshkin] Last fall the state attempted to buy grain from farms for currency. But somehow it did not work out.

[Stroyev] That measure is justified on the whole. But the procedure that was adopted for purchases has not yet produced the anticipated results. There are many shortcomings here. It will be necessary to improve things and change the approach, as well as involve foreign firms and perhaps adopt a course of organizing joint production units and service centers. Then the monopoly exercised

by our grain growers' partners will be lessened. The need for centralized purchases of plant-protection agents and other materials from abroad will decline. That also means a considerable saving in currency resources.

[Platoshkin] The grain program will be implemented against the background of new economic relations and the activation of market mechanisms. How do you see the process?

[Stroyev] I see it as complex, with many forms of ownership—in the first place, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. That is the basis of the agrarian economy. The switch to new production and economic relations is a change of enormous political importance, because it affects the very basis of the peasant's life and transforms him from a hired hand into the owner of the production unit. Through a multiplicity of forms of ownership and a mixed economy it is possible to revive people's interest in the land and their own labor and to make them richer and happier, both materially and spiritually.

The diversity of forms of economic management is already backed up by the adoption of the law on the lease system. Draft laws on the land and on ownership have been published for universal discussion. The truly businesslike mind cannot fail to realize that the lease operator, the cooperative member, the peasant farmer, and the shareholder are the antagonists of hired labor and irresponsibility, but not of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz. After all, even on the strongest kolkhoz or sovkhoz there will always be work that will be done incomparably better by an autonomous owner. Furthermore, it is easier for the peasant farmer or lease operator to establish himself today if he can draw on a kolkhoz or sovkhoz as his base. There will always be scope for activity for every form of economic management here. You only have to want to find it and not want to set one of them against another, but to give them equal rights. The key to success is to transfer all agro-industrial enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing.

Unfortunately, the new relations are forging a path with difficulty, first and foremost by virtue of ideological delusions. For some reason, many people advocate only kolkhozes and sovkhozes. By way of proof they cite the experience of the best farms, while they ignore the fact that these are oases among ruined, neglected villages.

There is also another, diametrically opposed view: to abandon kolkhozes and sovkhozes entirely and hand over the land to lease operators, cooperative members, and farmers' or peasant farms. As the first stage, it is proposed to break up 13,000 low-profit and loss-making kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

Of course, it is hard to achieve a general economic upsurge in the agrarian sector without overcoming their laggardness. But it would be naive to assume that lease operators and farmers will be eager to take the land that belongs to these farms, and there are tens of millions of hectares of such land. The people originally left these places not because of the kolkhoz, but because of the lack of amenities, the absence of housing, schools, hospitals, and roads, and the infringement of rights to pension provision and trade and everyday services. They are hardly likely to return unless those questions are resolved. Even writing off the debts will not help. Such farms need to be revitalized, in every sense of the word, without begrudging resources. Otherwise it will be too late.

What do we see in real life? Even in Latvia, more than 1 million hectares of land has already gone out of agricultural use. And how much land is overgrown and neglected in Kalinin and other oblasts of the nonchernozem! And has anyone shown that a lease operator or farmer can be produced out of nowhere?

Furthermore, by this means we are not abolishing kolkhozes and sovkhozes but "cutting off the oxygen," leaving a huge army of pensioners and soldiers' widows helpless. The idea of abolishing kolkhozes and sovkhozes does not answer the following question, either: What is to be done with the existing large-scale production facilities and modern machines and equipment, which are patently not suitable for small-scale production?

It is stated frankly in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) plenum: Give scope to all forms of economic management. The opportunity for rivalry and competition among them is thereby ensured.

The kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves can and must be transformed into cooperatives, lease associations, joint-stock companies, and other formations, at the wish of the people who produce the goods. In turn, they will enter into a system of integrated relations through associations, agro-industrial firms, agro-industrial combines, and agro-industrial consortiums, which cannot fail to execute their founders' will. The purpose of political leadership by party organizations and committees is to promote this process in every way. The main thing is step by step to remove the invented contradictions and consolidate all forces and potential so that the owner-peasant knows only one concern—to feed the country.

[Platoshkin] Not only "ordinary people," but even some economists and journalists are now saying: At one time, Russia used to sell grain. Now it buys it. What have we come to?

[Stroyev] Bitter words. One thing is indisputable: We can and must put an end to our grain dependence. But the history of the question should be studied in more detail. Listen to the opinion of a major economist who is not party to the present political passions and partialities, A.V. Chayanov. In the work "What Is the Agrarian Question?" he wrote: "Thus, in the Orel district, 86 out of every 100 farms suffer a shortage of grain by spring. That shortage totaled 326,000 poods in 1985. And yet a large number of farms sell grain at reduced prices in the fall, and in spring they buy grain and resell it at high prices." The need for money, the necessity of making various household purchases, and the obligation to pay tax drove the peasant to the market. "And we see," A.V.

Chayanov goes on, "that the Russian peasant, the master of a farming country, is basically going hungry."

Yet the Orel region could be said to be middle Russia—the typical grain zone. And that was not only happening there. For the same reasons, grain was exported. I do not think this policy is appropriate for us.

[Platoshkin] Intensive techniques will be an important component of the new program. They have been assimilated over 40 million hectares in the country. But as we can see, this has not produced a breakthrough on the "grain front."

[Stroyev] Without them we would not even be harvesting what we have. It should not be forgotten that the average annual increase in yield compared with the 11th 5-Year Plan level was, after all, 3.1 quintals of grain per hectare. Intensive techniques mean, first and foremost, zonal farming systems backed up by a range of machines, fertilizers, and plant-protection agents. The program makes provision for the resolution of these questions, while areas devoted to "intensive" sowings will be increased. Otherwise we cannot escape from our grain dependence.

[Platoshkin] How soon will we be able to escape it? The process is presumably envisaged as gradual?

[Stroyev] There are two approaches. Supporters of the first say: For complete self-sufficiency we need at least 1 tonne of grain per person. That is, nearly 300 million tonnes. For many regions this increase is possible, and has already been achieved. But overall, it can hardly be counted on as yet.

The second approach is to use the grain more efficiently: to enrich it with protein and other supplements, to retool processing sectors. Then we can manage with our present resources.

[Platoshkin] That seems to make sense.

[Stroyev] Certainly. In the EEC countries they have 500 kg of grain per head of population, and in the United States 850. We too, with imports, consume 850 kg. Only the return on it varies. Over there, they produce about 50% more meat and 20% more milk per head of population.

So we should use both approaches. If we managed to increase the crop by 1 quintal per hectare every year, which is quite possible, we would be free from the bondage of the foreign market in the next 5-year plan. Is that not worth a struggle?

[Platoshkin] Many specialists think: If we are going to buy anything abroad, let it be meat and butter rather than the grain to produce them. It would be cheaper.

[Stroyev] We need—who's arguing—a more flexible import structure, taking account of market trends. At present, for instance, the correlation of grain and meat prices on the world market is approximately 1 to 7. Here it is 1 to 32. So it is advantageous to buy meat. And perhaps it is even better to buy soybean cake, prices for which are falling in relation to wheat. But if we announce large purchases of these, the price correlation could change rapidly. And you could hardly find in the world today the quantity of meat that we need. So the task of learning to trade is still on the agenda, especially since economic decentralization enables those who have never traded on the foreign market before to do so.

[Platoshkin] The program attaches some importance to reequipping the grain grower. What form will this take?

[Stroyev] The Don-1500 combine and other machines have appeared and could substantially change existing techniques for grain harvesting, which is where the main losses occur. The drying and grading base is being strengthened. Work is under way to create modern machines and equipment. The production of small-scale equipment is expanding. All the same, the level of mechanization is still low. In the 1st 3 years of the current 5-year plan the countryside suffered a shortfall in deliveries of resources amounting to nearly R17 billion. The country's requirements for machinery and materials should clearly be included in the state order for the relevant sectors and should be transferred to a comprehensive supply system. But increasing capital investments is not enough on its own. We know many examples where these investments have not been exploited.

[Platoshkin] Does conversion offer real assistance for the agrarian sector?

[Stroyev] Certainly. Two years ago a statewide program was adopted to provide the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex with modern equipment. For the first time enterprises of ministries in the military-industrial complex were involved in its implementation. Advances have already been made. Tens, even hundreds of types of new machinery never before produced in our country are being assimilated. Collectives of defense ministries' enterprises and design bureaus are actively involved in this work. Of course, not everything is running smoothly. But let us hope these are growing pains.

I have recently met with the leaders of the defense ministries. In tables and graphs the conversion process seems to be fine. But it is starting essentially from scratch. For example, the USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry was instructed to equip flour mills. It is producing 15 sets of equipment per year. That is a drop in the bucket! But the equipment is inordinately expensive.

[Platoshkin] Because of increased capacity and enhanced quality, no doubt?

[Stroyev] Not exactly. This year the defense ministries increased the prices of 25 types of equipment by between 50% and 900%. But productivity remains more or less the same. The machine that makes bread rolls used to cost R8,000; the "defense workers" charge R27,000. A

bread cutter was R2,000; now it is R12,000. A bottle washer is now more expensive than a Don-1500 combine.

If we do not succeed in curbing these appetites the R77 billion set aside for retooling processing in the agro-industrial complex will end up in the pockets of the industrial and construction departments. Without markedly altering the state of affairs relating to food. The sad case of land reclamation construction in the non-chernozem zone is a convincing conformation of this. So the countryside must be helped and protected against unwarranted price increases and must be given priority when it comes to provision of resources and retooling. This requires the efforts of all ministries and departments, including defense.

[Platoshkin] We lose approximately one-third of products on the way from the field to the consumer. Maybe it is better to learn how to keep what we have grown than to increase production and increase losses?

[Stroyev] Indeed, they are great. According to expert estimates, the figure is around 30 million tonnes for grain alone. The same figure can be cited for overconsumption of concentrates because of the failure to balance the amounts of proteins and other ingredients.

So we return to the question we have just examined: The main thing is to revive good husbandry. Good equipment is needed to reap and process the harvest thoroughly. Transportation and storage are equally important. In general, one has to foster high standards of feeding and consumption so that good bread does not end up as livestock feed or even as swill.

A change in the crop structure will be very helpful. More pulse crops and oilseeds are needed. We have high-yield strains of peas and hybrids of sunflower, soybean, and rape. We could use them to solve the problem of feed protein. Corn gives twice the average yield of grain per hectare of other feed crops. Early ripening hybrids of it now mature even in the non-chernozem zone of the Russian Federation, Siberia, and North Kazakhstan.

[Platoshkin] Science has evidently done a good job here too.

[Stroyev] Very likely. There are more good strains. The systems of antierosion and nonirrigated farming for steppe regions are very promising. But we must go further. Develop biotechnological research and genetic engineering. Accelerate the propagation of new strains and bring them into the fields more quickly. It is important to return to the industrial system of seed growing. The switch to the sale of seeds to consumers at agreed prices, taking quality and demand into account, looks promising. Commercial seed growing firms are possible, on a cooperative basis.

But what about the elaboration and implementation of promising ideas and directions for the development of the agrarian sector and the future quest for effective agrotechnical methods and ways of increasing land fertility and creating ultramodern machinery? There is broad scope here for the activities of sectoral and academic science, higher educational establishment collectives, and practical experts. The All-Union V.I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences is supposed to take charge of this work. Science needs every assistance and support, including budget appropriations.

I believe we have found quite a good way of disseminating and assimilating the best achievements—namely, science and production associations and systems.

[Platoshkin] Yegor Semenovich, you have devoted many years to practical work in the countryside. No doubt you have accumulated personal experience in those areas?

[Stroyev] I have been a kolkhoz agronomist and team leader. I have dealt with agricultural matters at rayon and oblast level. Agrotechnics and technology are important areas. But I have learned that political approaches are needed. We need people who want to live and work on the land, cadre training, material incentives, labor and everyday matters.

You can talk as much as you like about grain, for example, but you will not get more of it until you have a good leader in charge of the farm or sector. I admit it bothers me when all I hear is that in one place they have gotten rid of specialists and in an other they have given them proper posts. Conscientiousness, intuition, and technique are fine. But they are no longer enough. You cannot improve the countryside without intellectual effort.

You will agree that increasing the grain yield from 10 to 20 quintals is far easier than increasing it from 30 to 40 quintals. You cannot get by without science, without skilled specialists. So economic training for cadres, assimilation of new management methods, and their creative application are more important than ever. Capital investments in people—in their training and in the creation of good working and living conditions—are the most effective.

We remember many fine initiatives which got nowhere merely because they were not comprehensively validated. People's interests were not fully considered and their way of life was barely touched on. Economic accountability, the lease system, cooperatives, and the unfolding of the social reorganization of the countryside are reviving good husbandry that can carry out production on a modern basis.

Grain has become a major state and political issue. It is also a measure of competence and a matter of honor and of the responsibility of every worker in the agrarian sphere and every rural Communist. Only by improving economic relations and consolidating society's intellectual forces is it possible to overcome the difficulties and prevail.

And victory, as is known, gives one wings and gives the people social optimism.